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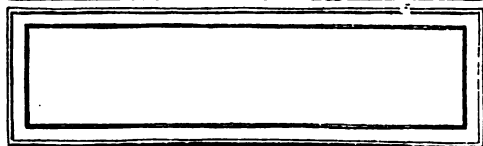
LOYAL CITIZEN- SHIP



THOMAS
HARRISON
REED



Hearst Fountain





Univ. of
California

LOYAL CITIZENSHIP

TO THE
ARTIST



Painting by Edward Simmons

FIG. 1. Justice, the spirit of America.

LOYAL CITIZENSHIP

BY

Thomas Harrison Reed, A.B., LL.B.

Professor of Municipal Government

University of California

Author of "Form and Functions of

American Government"

*Illustrated with 122 engravings from
photographs and drawings*



Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York
WORLD BOOK COMPANY
1922

TO THE
LIBRARY OF
CONGRESS

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THE HOUSE OF APPLIED KNOWLEDGE

Established, 1905, by Caspar W. Hodgson

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2126 PRAIRIE AVENUE, CHICAGO

At a moment when the fabric of our civilization is shaken by world turmoil and unrest it is easy to realize the importance of erecting in the minds of the future rulers of this country firm foundations of civic conduct. To that end this book offers for their instruction certain fundamental truths of economics and government

JX274
R35

Heart Fountain



RLG-1

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PRINTED IN U.S.A.

PREFACE

THE course that this text is designed to fit has for its purpose the training of pupils for citizenship. To this end two things are essential: first, to give the pupil the necessary minimum of knowledge of the institutions and principles of government and society—old Civil Government reduced to its lowest terms plus new Economics and Sociology simplified to his understanding; and, second, to inculcate the habit of civic-mindedness not merely by example and precept but by practice as well.

The first of these essentials—supplying necessary information—the text carries out directly, but with the qualification that the details of state and local government, so far as they depart from the general pattern, are to be supplied by the teacher or through special reports on the part of the pupil.

The second essential—inculcating the habit of civic-mindedness—cannot be achieved without the teacher's own patriotic and devoted interest. The matter of interesting the pupil in the problems of citizenship has been given too little attention. It has been assumed that because children twelve to fifteen years of age are a long way from the ballot they can be taught only by abstractions about citizenship. They are, however, members of the community and constantly sustain civic relations. They can be taught the civic point of view more effectively by the continued conscious practice of civic virtues than in any other way. Many of the "Civic Activities" are based on the idea of getting the class to work for the community welfare. The teacher may

well keep in mind the following passage from John Dewey (*Moral Principles in Education*), "What the normal child continuously needs is not so much isolated moral lessons upon the importance of truthfulness and honesty, or the beneficent results that follow from a particular act of patriotism, as *the formation of habits of social imagination and conception.*"

The topics and activities suggested at the ends of the chapters are very numerous; there are far more of them than can be effectively utilized. It is expected that the teacher will choose among them.

In the attempt to dramatize the problems of government for the pupils the teacher will find brief plays, masques, or pageants useful. They have been occasionally suggested under the head of "Civic Activities," but this does not by any means exhaust the possibilities of their use. The teacher will find helpful the following: PAYNE, F. URSULA, *Plays and Pageants of Citizenship*; TUCKER AND RYAN, *Historical Plays of Colonial Days*; MACKAYE, PERCY, *The New Citizenship*.

The references are few in number and are almost all to books commonly used and not too difficult. This does not mean that periodical literature should not be largely relied on for the report work of the pupils. Every public library has indexes to periodical literature, and the sooner the pupil learns to use them the better. A list of the most useful periodicals which should, if possible, be included in the school or class library is given in Appendix 1.

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PART ONE
SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FUNDAMENTALS
Coöperation and Liberty

The essential element in patriotism, in the higher patriotism, is unity of spirit—the ability and the disposition to work together for a common good; and this unity is promoted by getting a large and worthy idea of what the common good is.

WASHINGTON GLADDEN



Library of Congress

FIG. 2. "The Family," a painting by Charles Sprague Pearce.

CHAPTER ONE

THE FAMILY

The family as protector and provider. In the lives of most young people, by far the most important fact is *family*. The family provides not only food, clothing, and shelter, but also the affectionate care and protection which children must have for many years before they can make their own way in life. *The family was one of the first associations that existed among human beings, and it remains the most important one into which they enter* (Fig. 2).

Dependence upon the family lasts much longer among human beings than it does among the lower animals, whose young soon become self-supporting. Until a girl is eighteen and a boy twenty-one, they are regarded by the law as "minors" and must obey the commands of their parents; and some young people are supported and cared for by their families until after they are grown men and women, graduates, often, of universities or professional schools.

Coöperation. The purpose of the family is to increase the welfare of its members. It accomplishes this through *coöperation*. The father earns the living in shop or office or on the farm. The mother manages the house, cooks or sees to the cooking, and cares for the young children. The children help here and there with errands, chores, or small earnings. In the well-conducted family, *all work together for the common good*.

Authority. If every member of a family always acted as he pleased without regard to the rest, the usefulness of that family would be lost. In most cases natural affection and a common purpose bring about agreement, especially among the grown members of a family. Children, however, are not always wise enough to appreciate the wisdom of their parents. For them there must be, to keep the family acting in harmony, the *authority* of parents.

When hungry wolves were poking their noses into the chinks of the family hut, there was no chance for debate as to what each member should do. In primitive times, therefore, *prompt family coöperation was obtained through the unlimited authority of the father*. This was the situation with the early Romans, among whom the father had even the power of life and death over his children. There is no longer need for such extreme power in the hands of one parent: milder authority over the children is now sufficient, and it belongs to both parents jointly.

Family as a type of government. When a boy's mother tells him to wear his rubbers on a rainy day,

he is subject to *government*. His parents' commands are *law* to him; when he was younger, they were his only law. The necessity for such law and such authority arises from the fact that *all the members of a family are not equal* in knowledge, wisdom, and goodness.

Force. Unfortunately, not all persons who ought to obey do so willingly, and children sometimes require *force* or the fear of it to make them obedient to even the best rules. There are parents who say that they never "force" or "punish" their children, meaning that they never whip them. All parents, however, make use either of superior physical or mental force to secure obedience. Within the family we find proof of the fact that *force is necessary to make government and law effective*.

Liberty and restraint. Above all other things, people appreciate *liberty*—the freedom to go and to do as they please. Liberty is one of the principal elements in any one's happiness, and those who are deprived of it suffer severely, regardless of their material comfort.

Unrestrained liberty, however, would be impossible even among savages. It would at once destroy the usefulness of the family, which is the first social unit (Fig. 3). If, for example, when the family sat down to dinner, the father as the strongest helped himself to all that was best on the table, and if each other member grabbed and kept what he could, the weakest would get very little, and there would be an end of the family as a provider of food. There

should be in the family and in society generally as much liberty for even the least member as will not

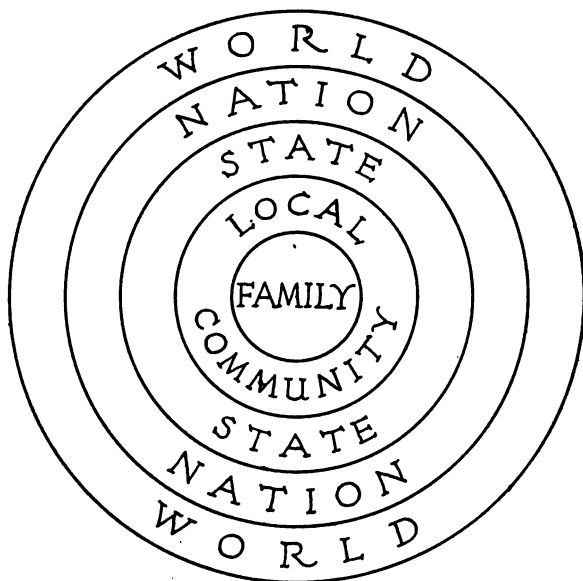


FIG. 3. The family is the social unit about which all government centers.

interfere with successful coöperation. Liberty must be restrained in order to secure orderly and safe living conditions; all the more so, because *without restraint liberty would come to be anarchy and true liberty would be lost to all.*

QUESTIONS

What are two of the chief purposes of the family? In the state where you live, how long must children go to school? At what age do boys and girls of your acquaintance begin to earn a living? In

what respects is family life preferable to life in an institutional home? What is coöperation? Give examples of it inside the home; outside the home. What reason exists for parental authority? What light does this throw on government and law? Why must there be force behind authority? What is liberty? Can any one have all the liberty he wants? Why? What are the limits of liberty in the home?

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

Look up "government," "liberty," and "law" in any good encyclopedia or in any of the standard texts such as GARNER, J. W., *Introduction to Political Science*; GETTELL, R. G., *Introduction to Political Science*; LEACOCK, S., *Elements of Political Science*.

CIVIC ACTIVITIES

Let each of the pupils resolve to do at home some helpful thing that he has not been told to do by his parents.

Suggested activities for boys:

1. Install an electric bell and care for it.
2. Clean the windows of your house or apartment.
3. Make a useful device for the home.
4. Bait the hook, and catch, clean, and cook a fish.
5. Make a set of practical playthings for a child three years old.
6. Weed the garden or clean up the back yard.
7. Cut and rake the grass.
8. Clean up the barn or other outbuildings.
9. Chop a quantity of kindling wood and pile it neatly in its proper place.
10. Inspect your home and see whether there is any carpentering that needs to be done that a boy can do; if there is, do it.

Suggested activities for girls (adapted from Home Craft Honors for the Camp Fire Girls):

1. Gather two quarts of wild berries or fruits and make them into a dessert.
2. Wash and iron a dress.
3. Clean the ice chest thoroughly twice a week for two weeks.
4. Put away clothing, rugs, furs, or blankets for a season.
5. Cook the dinner for the family so as to give your mother a rest.

6. Take care of the baby or amuse the younger children on rainy days.
7. Tell a bedtime story to your younger brother or sister.
8. Gather a group of four or five little children together and teach them Safety First.
9. Do the dusting without being asked to do so by your mother.



FIG. 4. Steps to good citizenship. Each of these must be climbed. There is no short cut to good citizenship.

CHAPTER TWO

FROM FAMILY TO NATION

Family and clan. If human coöperation had stopped with the family, we should still be poor savages, often suffering from cold and hunger. But ages before the beginning of history, larger groups of kinsfolk came to be formed. These groups, known as *clans*, *afforded better protection than the family could give* against wild animals and savage men. The conduct of clan members toward one another was governed by rules or laws that, for the most part, grew naturally out of the experiences of clan life. These laws might be preserved in the memories of the elders or priests and applied by an assembly of the people or of the warriors. Those who broke them were in many cases put to death or thrust out of the clan to perish in the wilderness. Old laws were harsh. Keeping alive was a difficult matter for primitive men, and no one could be allowed to endanger the clan's chance to survive.

The nation. As time went on, clan groups became tribes and tribes merged into nations. *As the areas within which law ruled became wider, the security of individuals became greater*, and they could better practice the arts of peace and civilization. After centuries of struggle, only a comparatively small number of nations have survived, and not more than six of these are of the first importance.

Within a nation men coöperate to secure peace. Thus, as Americans, we regulate our dealings with one another by laws, and join with all our country-

men to repel attack from the outside. That our laws may be fair, well understood, and obeyed, we have *legislatures* to make them, *courts* to interpret them, and *executive officers* to enforce them. *Our government has been a wonderful success.* It is over a century since the last armed soldier of a hostile foreign power departed from our country. We are safe in our homes, on the streets, and in the schools. There are, of course, persons of criminal tendencies who seek to injure others, but they are few and are able to do comparatively little harm.

In the earliest times the enemy lurked just outside the circle of the family camp fire. In clan days he was kept back only by the village stockade. With the growth of nations, visible danger has been thrust back farther and farther, until today it is a long way from most of us. This does not mean that life is now altogether easy and safe; but the citizen can at least lie down at night reasonably confident that he will awaken to find his possessions safe and those he cares for unharmed. *Coöperation for peace and safety within a nation is the greatest political achievement of man.* Further progress will lie in the direction of more perfect coöperation among nations.

Authority and the growth of individual rights. Coöperation among many people distributed over a large area cannot be secured without the exercise of *a good deal of authority.* In fact, in the development of nations there were long periods when absolute or nearly absolute power was wielded by one man, the king. There were then few, if any, rights of



FIG. 5. "Out!" The umpire's authority could not be questioned here.

the individual that the king was bound to respect. Just as *the absolute authority of the father over his children gave place to a milder rule*, so absolute monarchy gradually disappeared.

In all of Europe and America great struggles for freedom have taken place, and the liberty of the individual has been widely safeguarded. In the history of the English-speaking peoples, *the rights of the individual* against authority were first stated in *Magna Charta* (1215), reaffirmed in the *Bill of Rights* (1689), newly stated in America in the *Declaration of Independence* (1776), and made the highest law of the United States in our *Constitution*, particularly in the first ten amendments.

Liberty and authority in government. Definite limits for liberty and for authority are not easy to indicate. Other things being equal, *the larger the group brought together for any purpose, the more authority there must be* if the members of the group are to work together in an orderly manner. A committee of three, for example, can discuss a question without a presiding officer or any rules for debate. If all do talk at once, little harm is done. But in a meeting of over a thousand, like a national party convention, there will be required a whole book of rules, a strong chairman armed with a gavel to interpret and declare them, and a sergeant-at-arms with deputies to enforce authority. The 105,000,000 people of the United States today need more laws than did the 3,000,000 of 1787. In considering how far it is right to restrict liberty, these points should be remembered:

For Liberty

1. Liberty is an important element in every person's happiness.
2. Liberty is necessary to progress. A slave has no incentive to improve anything. A people kept in bondage can have no free interchange of ideas, without which there can be little progress.
3. It is through liberty alone that people can prepare for liberty. No man can learn self-control, except by controlling himself. No people can learn self-government except by governing itself.

For Authority

1. Absence of restraint alone does not give real liberty. We cannot be wholly free except under circumstances that make life unattractive.
2. Liberty must stop short of the point where it imperils society, for society makes the enjoyment of liberty possible. The happiness of the people as a whole is infinitely more important than the happiness of any individual.
3. The liberty of one person must not conflict with the liberty of another.

Liberty and self-government. *We have earned the right to be called a free people, not so much by lessening the authority that may be exercised over us as by self-government.* Even severe rules do not seem oppressive when we make them for ourselves. Student self-government, some form of which now exists in most colleges and in many other schools, is successful because students so willingly submit to discipline of their own making. The Americans of the Revolutionary period refused to pay a trifling tax on tea because it was laid by a Parliament in which they were not represented; but they were ready to

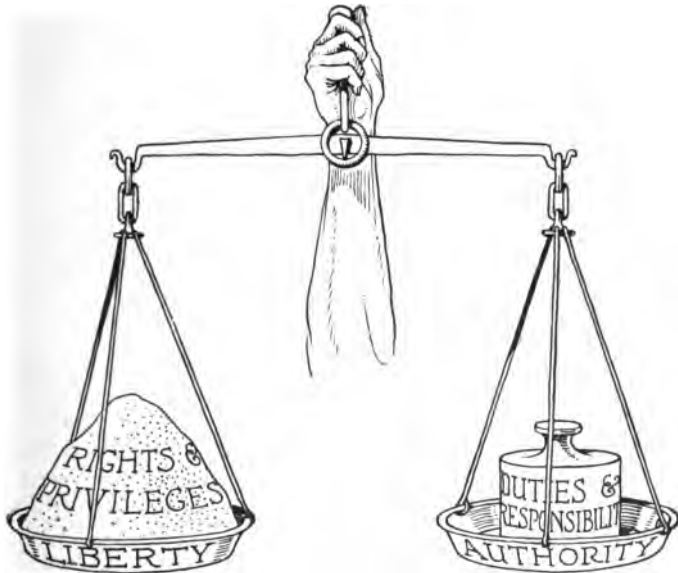


FIG. 6. There can be no right without a corresponding duty. Unless all have duties none have rights. The even balance between rights and duties gives true liberty.

submit to heavy taxation when it was imposed by their own representatives.

It frequently happens that we are called on to obey laws that we did not wish to have passed, and we obey them. Since there are bound to be differences of opinion, it is only fair that final authority should rest with the majority. On no other basis could our liberties be maintained. It is only through doing our *duty* as citizens—obeying lawful authority—that we can coöperate to maintain the *privileges* of citizenship.

QUESTIONS

What advantages did clan life give? How were clans governed? What relation does the size of the areas in which men coöperate for peace bear to civilization? How does the dictionary define "government"? Wherein, in your opinion, has the United States government been especially successful? What has become of the enemies that used to threaten every family? What did kings have to do with the growth of nations? What are the principal landmarks in the history of liberty in English-speaking countries? Why are more rules necessary for the guidance of a large body of people than a small one? What arguments can you give for liberty? for authority? How would you apply these principles to an actual case? How does self-government reconcile us to authority?

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

The government and way of life of the Angles, Jutes, and Saxons before they invaded England, and the development of the English nation out of these invading tribes, will make interesting subjects for reports. These reports will illustrate concretely the change from clan to nation which the text describes in general terms. Material may be found in Green's *Short History of the English People* or in any other standard English history.

CIVIC ACTIVITIES

A liberty hour. The program should include the recitation of extracts from Magna Charta, the English Bill of Rights, the Declara-

tion of Independence, the Bill of Rights, the Constitution of the United States (first ten amendments), and the similar provisions of the state constitution. Such numbers may be interspersed with patriotic songs and selections in verse or prose. *The American Spirit: A Basis for World Democracy*, by Monroe-Miller, contains excellent material.

Organize the class for purposes of self-government. Future recitations may be conducted through this class organization. The adoption of a constitution, the election of officers, and the study of rules of order will give practical training of immense value and will, at the same time, greatly stimulate student interest. The first step may well be the resolution of the class to organize. Then will follow in order: (1) The election of temporary officers, (2) appointment of a committee to submit a draft of a constitution, (3) report of this committee, (4) action on the report, (5) election of permanent officers (their term should be short enough to allow offices to be passed around generally). These steps in class organization will occupy all the time that can be spared from a number of recitations based on matter in succeeding chapters. See the first paragraph under "Civic Activities" at the end of Chapter 10.



FIG. 7. The great seal of the United States. Besides its flag, each of the nations has a device that stands for its sovereignty. Similarly, in primitive times each clan had its totem.

CHAPTER THREE

COÖPERATION IN WORK

Work. *No good thing can be had without work*, except the free gifts of nature, such as light and air. Behind the food we eat, the clothing we wear, and every comfort we enjoy, is *work*. You could not stretch yourself in an easy-chair, except for the fact that some one had labored to build it. Most men and women work hard, and it is necessary that they should, for there is scarcely enough food in the world to go round.

Fortunately, work is not in itself an evil, although too much of it may be. Many people rather shrink from work; but in reasonable quantities it makes people stronger, better, and happier than they would be without it. *Every one should work at least enough to pay his own way*. The tramp, the criminal, and the loafer—whether rich or poor—are all dead weights to be carried by the rest of us; they do not coöperate.

Division of occupation. There was a time when each family was self-supporting. The game and fish it ate, the skins it wore, the wood it burned, the rude hut that sheltered it, were all produced by the family itself. If *coöperation* had never gone any farther than the family, we should have scanty food, clothing, and shelter, and few other material advantages. With the spread of coöperation to a larger unit, the clan, came the opportunity for *division of occupation*. If one man proved to be an exceptionally good maker of arrows, he could make more than he



U. S. D. A.

FIG. 8. Counting sheep on a Western ranch. The coöperation of men everywhere—of workers with hand and brain—is necessary to produce the food we eat and the clothing we wear.

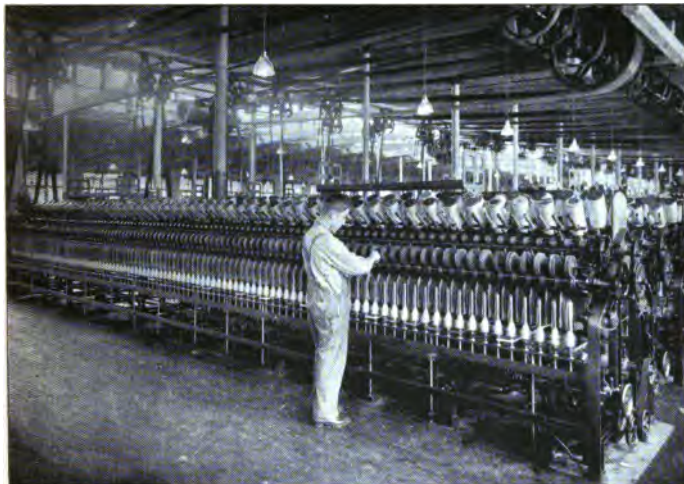
needed for himself and exchange the extra ones for game, fish, skins, or whatever else he could get. Another clansman might devote himself to making hammers, and because of his skillful labor the community would have a better supply of hammers than it had before. Thus, division of occupation increased until the common trades we know today came into being, as carpentering, blacksmithing, and masonry. Society was better off because a given number of persons, each skilled in a particular task, could accomplish more than an equal number of Jacks-of-all-trades. *As the areas of peace and order grew, there was still further division of occupation.* One village had clay for bricks and exchanged its bricks for an-

*American Woolen Company*

FIG. 9. Sorting and grading wool at a mill in Massachusetts. The occupation of these expert judges of wool is very different from that of the ranchers, yet it contributes to the same end.

other village's salt fish or yet another's tanned hides; and so coöperation among men has extended until today the very clothes we wear are the product of every clime and represent the labor of ten thousand hands.

The story of a woolen suit. Up on the highlands of southern Wyoming are a lonely sheep herder and his flock. We shall not try to trace the career of the sheep herder, although it took *the coöperation of many people* to get him and his outfit on the range. At dipping time he drives the sheep to the dipping vats; at shearing time to the shearing pens. Here the brawny hands of others are brought into action.



American Woolen Company

FIG. 10. Spinning woolen yarn. These intricate and costly spinning frames effect an enormous economy of labor. Their product enters into the clothing of millions of people. We could not have such machines if it were not for capital.

The sheared wool, in bags, is carried perhaps fifty miles by motor truck to a railway station. There the bags are loaded on a car, which in turn becomes part of a train, and the shipment starts for Chicago or Boston. A multitude of brains and hands help to run the series of railroads over which the wool journeys. Once arrived at the railroad terminal, the bags of wool are bumped over the pavements, again by truck, to a great wool warehouse. Thence the bags go to a woolen mill, perhaps in Massachusetts, where the wool is put through processes which make it first into yarn and then into cloth. There are

*American Woolen Company*

FIG. 11. Weaving the woolen yarn into cloth. The modern world could scarcely be clothed if we depended on the old-time weaver at his hand loom.

dippings, dyeings, spinnings, weavings, the work of delicate machines directed by skilled hands. Away goes the finished cloth to a New York clothing manu-

facturer, and once more many flying fingers are set to work. Designers, cutters, stitchers, and finishers bend over it until the suit is produced and starts on its journey to the retail store. There a clerk sells it, a cashier takes the money and records the transaction, and finally a man delivers it at the purchaser's door.

Kinds of work. The many kinds of work that are required to supply a suit of clothes, to furnish a meal, or to build a house are all honorable because they contribute to the welfare of humanity. *Some labor is done chiefly with the hands, some chiefly with the head.* It is perhaps difficult to realize that the



FIG. 12. The manufacture of cloth into clothing. Some of these men do nothing but stitch buttonholes and others sew only hems or seams. From ranch to clothing factory, many kinds of work are performed by many different people, and the result of their combined efforts is the woolen suit that you may wear.

chief of a great corporation is working, as he sits behind a big, clean desk for a few hours a day dictating letters and receiving callers. He may, however, be working hard and effectively indeed. Comparatively few men can think clearly and continuously enough to fill positions like his. Such a man's work is of a kind that not many are qualified to undertake. He carries the burden of responsibility. It is often more trying to say "yes" or "no"—to make a decision on an important question—than to saw a cord of wood.

Competition. Half a dozen boys are lined up at the mark for a quarter-mile race. Revolver in hand, the starter stands just behind them. Every muscle is taut, every face strained with excitement. Each of the boys is eager to *compete*—to run until his legs ache and his feet grow heavy, and until his breath comes in painful gasps. Why? Because there is a cup for the winner? That has something to do with it, especially in getting up the race; but once in the race, the boys will run their best, cup or no cup. The real reason for their effort will be the desire to excel, the determination to win. The competitive spirit, which prompts each boy to do his best, is a common human quality.

The gun cracks and the quarter-milers are off at a terrific pace. Who will win? Barring accident, the best runner—the one with a combination of natural running ability, good training, strength of will, quickness of wit. Why all this effort to find out who is fastest at 440 yards? Why not have a debate on



FIG. 13. The finish of a hard race. The spirit of competition has caused each runner to do his best.

the subject followed by vote among the people in the stands? Racing is hard and painful for the racers, but it is the only way to determine the best runner. *Competition is necessary to bring out the best efforts of all of us.* It is through competition that the leaders in business and industry are selected. In no other way can their abilities be proved. But competition, however vigorous, ought to be fair and even generous. Roosevelt said, "Don't flinch, don't foul, and hit the line hard!" Success cannot be won by indifference, laziness, and cowardice, but only by putting forth our best effort—by steady and honest work.

Work, capital. The principles of coöperation and competition, opposed as they may appear to be, are essential to successful work. To make both of these principles most highly effective we need another economic force—*capital*.

QUESTIONS

What things are to be had without work? Is work good or bad for us? Is there any reason why each person who is able to do so should not pay his own way? What is meant by division of occupation? Give examples. How has division of occupation progressed? Why is most work honorable? Does the brain worker really work? In what sense is the carrying of responsibility work? What is meant by competition? What effect does it have in developing energy? Why is not the process of election always as good a means of picking men as competition? What danger is there in competition? How can it be avoided?

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

The history of other familiar articles, as hats and shoes, may be traced as we have traced the history of a woolen suit. The trades in your community may be made the subject of reports. Information concerning these can be obtained through business men and labor officials.

There are no books dealing with the fundamentals of economics in which the facts are simply enough stated for ordinary presentation in the eighth or ninth grade. The nearest approach is probably ELY AND WICKER, *Elementary Principles of Economics*. The teacher will find valuable for personal use the standard works on Economics, such as those of Taussig, Seager, Mill, Walker, Hobson, and Marshall. Approach to economic fundamentals may frequently be best achieved by way of economic history. See BOGART, E. L., *Economic History of the United States*; CHEYNEY, E. P., *Industrial and Social History of England*; COMAN, K., *The Industrial History of the United States*.

CIVIC ACTIVITIES

A visit to a local factory in which division of labor is easily observable will help to make clear this and succeeding chapters.

There is frequently some much-needed piece of work about the school or community that a vigorous group of young people can very quickly perform. If possible, arrange to have the class do it in such a way as to illustrate the worth of coöperation and division of occupation.

A work report (anonymous) might be handed in by each pupil. It should state what work the pupil has done during the preceding week, the hours, and the compensation, if any, received. The teacher should combine the reports into one, with suitable comments.

CHAPTER FOUR

CAPITAL, THE PARTNER OF LABOR

The beginnings of capital. There was a time when men pursued their game barehanded or with sticks or rocks that they chanced to find. In time, however, some savage made a stone hammer, and later, perhaps, another made a spear. To make these weapons took a great deal of labor, both of *mind and body*, but once they were made, game was more easily taken (Fig. 14). These primitive weapons were *capital*. Attracted by the flavor of a wild plant, some barbarian collected its seeds and saved them for planting in the spring. These seeds were capital, like the hammer and spear. *Where anything is created or saved for the purpose of using it as an aid to further production, that thing is capital.*

Capital and wealth. At the time when the simplest forms of capital were created other articles were being accumulated: some for utility; like earthen jars; others for luxury, like beads and rings. These contributed directly to the satisfaction of their owners, as capital contributed indirectly. Together with capital they made up the *wealth* of early men. *Every useful thing, except such things as light and air which belong freely to all, is wealth.* Capital is wealth, though many articles of wealth are not capital (Figs. 15 and 16).

Property. Anything that is owned is *property*. Next to life and limb, property early came to be the thing most carefully protected. "Thou shalt not steal" was one of the first laws, and as the areas of

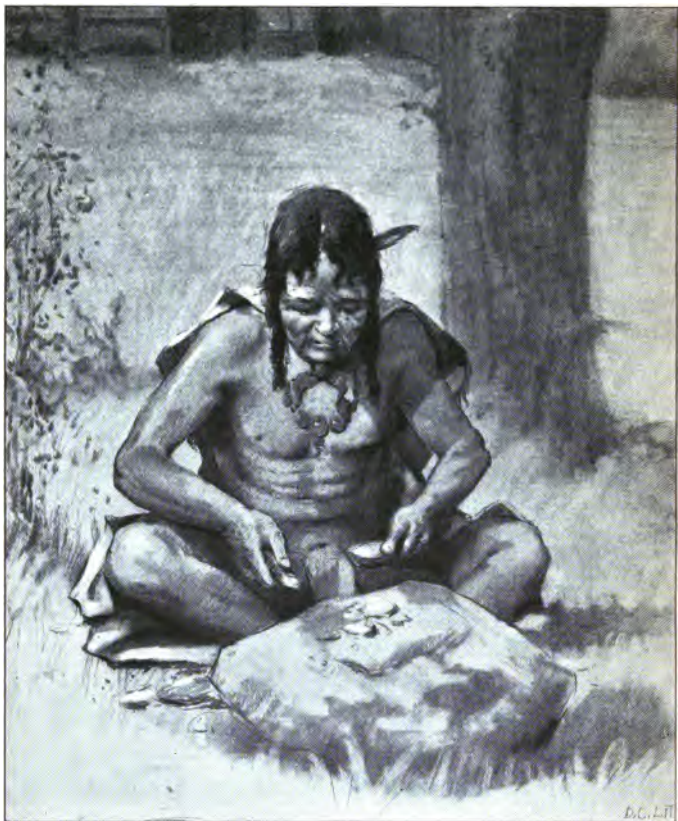
*David C. Lithgow*

FIG. 14. An Iroquois worker in stone. The weapons that he made for use in the hunt were capital.

coöperation for purposes of government have extended, property has been made more and more safe. It sometimes seems that property is not distributed among men very fairly—it is certainly not

distributed evenly; and there are persons who believe that there should be no such thing as individual property, that all wealth should be owned by the community, share and share alike. *The most important of the many reasons why the right of property should be respected is that this right encourages men to create more useful things than they can immediately use.* Thus the community's stores of wealth and capital are increased, and the well-being of all men is promoted.

The reward of labor and saving. It takes something besides labor to create capital. In the time a savage fisherman spent at making a dug-out canoe, he could have caught many fish from the bank. In



FIG. 15. Articles of luxury, such as these, are beautiful, but they do not help in the production of other goods. They are wealth, but not capital.

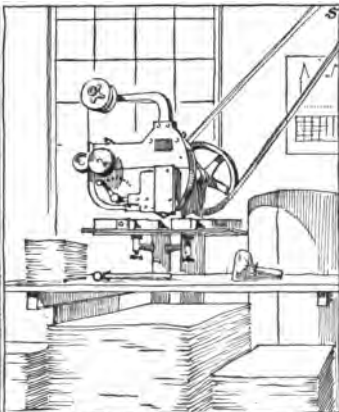


FIG. 16. Tools, materials, and machines that are used in production are both wealth and capital.

order to make the canoe, he had to give up the present enjoyment of his leisure or of the fish that he might have taken. This was *abstinence* (which amounts to the same thing as *saving*). The inducement he had for digging out the canoe and abstaining from enjoyment was the prospect of a better supply of fish after he got the canoe built. The fact that *the canoe would be his property* and that he would get the benefit of its use greatly encouraged the fisherman in the creation of this piece of capital.

It is still with a view to encouraging the creation of capital that inventions are allowed to be *patented*. When the government grants a patent, the inventor is given for a term of years the exclusive property right in his idea. A man will work hard to make a discovery if he knows that he will be allowed a property right in it that will reward him for his labor and thought. The rights of authors and composers in their works are protected by *copyright*, as inventions are protected by patent, and for similar reasons.

Capital and division of labor. *Labor and capital are really partners in production, one being as necessary as the other.* Division of labor and the use of capital have grown side by side. No man alone could have invented and built the complicated and expensive machinery that is used to cut the wool off a sheep's back and finally turn it into clothing. When, however, division of labor had been carried to the point where each worker did some simple task, it was easier to invent a machine to do that task. The use



FIG. 17. An old-time cobbler, who worked without much assistance from capital. His output was small, and so was his reward.

of capital made possible the increased division of labor and the building of the machinery also. To-day few workers ever make the whole of anything. In a shoe factory, for example, one man does nothing but nail on heels, day in and day out. This is much less interesting for him than it would be to make whole pairs of shoes. He has ceased to buy leather, make it up into shoes with his own tools, and to pay himself by selling the product. *The appliances for shoemaking are now costly machines, too expensive for*

the individual worker to own; and they can be used economically only by many specialized workers. More shoes are made in a factory and at less cost than would be possible by hand labor. The worker in the shoe factory gets more articles in return for his labor than did the old-time shoemaker (Fig. 17). In the first instance, however, he gets his pay in the form of wages.

Paying for capital. To do his part in modern industry, the capitalist must provide the raw materials to be made up; the supplies, such as coal and oil, that are consumed in the work; the tools and machinery with which the work is done; and the wages of labor employed upon it. It is clear that if he is to continue in business *he must sell the product for enough to pay back the cost of the materials and supplies used and the wages paid* to get the work done. If he only got that much, however, it would not be enough. We know that an automobile that was bought a year ago for \$1,500 will not be worth \$1,500 today. It has been driven perhaps 10,000 miles, and if all injuries have been repaired carefully it will be worth maybe \$1,200. The next year it will be worth still less, and so on until it can be sold for nothing but the price of its metal as junk. Similarly, depreciation takes place in the tools and machinery in a factory. The product must sell for enough more than its immediate cost *to offset depreciation*—to pay for necessary repairs and to enable the capitalist to lay by something with which to replace buildings and equipment when the old are worn out.

Even if a capitalist were assured of getting out of an industry all that he put into it, that assurance alone would scarcely induce him to work and save in order to create capital. The savage who made the canoe got more fish as a reward for his labor and sacrifice while building. *The modern capitalist must get a reward too. That reward we call interest.* Interest induces men to give up present enjoyment for the sake of greater power of enjoyment in the future. The term "interest" is commonly used to describe the sum a borrower pays for the privilege of a loan—the use of capital.

When a capitalist receives a greater reward than he could get for lending his capital to some one else on good security, we call that excess over interest "profit." The hope of getting back all that he invested plus interest will not induce a man to put his savings into an uncertain enterprise. For that he must have the prospect of unusual reward—profit. Most new enterprises are uncertain, and if profit were done away with, there would be little or no business progress. If a capitalist puts his own time into the management of a business, he, like other workers, is entitled to wages for that service in addition to interest or profit.

Getting capital. So far we have been speaking of capital as "things," which it really is. In everyday life and speech, however, it is represented as *money*. We do not speak of the capital of a railroad as so many engines, cars, and miles of road. We speak of it as so much money which *represents* the worth of the engines, cars, and road. It was *the accumulated*



National City Company

FIG. 18. Hidden wealth helps no one, but money properly invested aids industry the world over.

savings, in money, of many people, that provided the capital for the railroad. Capital for a modern enterprise is not provided by saving actual tools or machines for future production. The money that represents the value of the tools or machines required for production is saved largely from the incomes of individuals, and we speak of "saving money," rather than "saving capital."

Banks. *Hidden savings are not capital, but money deposited in a bank becomes capital when it is lent to persons who use it productively. A commercial bank*

receives money on deposit and lends money for short periods on the note (promise to pay) of the borrower. Such a bank is formed by several persons joining together and paying in a sum of money to create the bank's "capital." This they lend to others, who may use it in buying tools or machinery.

In addition to its capital, the bank receives deposits from persons who have more money than they care to keep on hand. If a dozen men deposit a total of \$50,000, the bank must be prepared, on demand, to pay back to each one of them the amount of his deposit. As a matter of fact, experience has shown that they will not all come at once for their money, and that if the bank has ten or twelve thousand dollars on hand it will be enough to meet actual demands. The rest the bank lends.

Perhaps a bank lends twenty thousand dollars to a man who is starting a new factory. As soon as the factory begins to sell its goods a new lot of deposits flow in from the factory and its employees. In this manner banks grow and become increasingly able to aid industry. They are of immense importance, too, in promoting thrift.

QUESTIONS

How is "capital" defined? What example can you give of primitive capital? What are some other examples of capital? What is wealth? Give examples of wealth that are not capital. What is property? What reasons can you give for respecting the right of property? How is capital produced? Why do men produce it? What has the right of property to do with the process? Why are patents granted on inventions? Why are copyrights granted on books and musical compositions? How has the use of capital promoted division of

labor? Can you give an example? What effect has division of labor had on the position of the worker? What must the capitalist provide? From what is he repaid? What items must be included in the payment? What is interest? What is profit? How do we ordinarily speak of capital? What is a commercial bank? How does it aid industry?

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

Patents and copyrights; banks; and the various stages in the development of industry as outlined in such books as ELY AND WICKER, *Principles of Economics*, are the best subjects for student reports. See list of references, last chapter.

CIVIC ACTIVITIES

The organized class should take up the question of protecting school property, such as books, desks, chairs, walls, stairways, and playground apparatus. Such property is all capital—community capital—invested in education. Its preservation can be helped by class action. Rules, with penalties for breaking them, should be made by the class. Offenders should be tried and punished by the class or a committee.

It would be very helpful at this point to have a local banker or merchant give a talk to the class on banking and its relation to capital and industry.

CHAPTER FIVE

GETTING CAPITAL: THRIFT

Thrift. *To make the best use of time, strength, and money, that is thrift.* A thrifty citizen is one who uses his income wisely. This usually means that he spends something less than his income and saves the difference. People through whose hands money slips easily are not so much generous as careless. When a real occasion for generosity comes they are likely to have nothing to be generous with. But going without all the comforts and pleasures of life is not thrift — that is waste of opportunity, and waste is the opposite of thrift. Thrift means wise spending as well as wise saving.

Thrift and capital. We usually think of thrift as a purely private virtue, but it is of the utmost importance to the community. We have already seen how capital can be created or increased only by saving. Some saving is done by companies that set aside part of their revenue to replace worn-out capital and to extend their business. However, *a very large part of the increase in capital must come from individual savings* out of individual incomes, because command over most things that are produced passes quickly into individual hands in the form of interest, profit, and wages. Without new capital the prosperity of the community cannot increase.

Thrift and the rainy day. We have seen that every one should work, bearing his part in production, but work alone will not certainly keep one from some day becoming a charge upon the community.

Saving for future needs seems a dreary performance to most young people. Full of health and vigor, they find it hard to realize that there will ever be a time when they cannot earn a living. Yet accident, illness, old age, and death visit every family. Unemployment, whatever its cause, may stop any one's earnings. For these reasons *thrifty persons seek to lay by something for a "rainy day."*

Savings banks: interest. It is principally through savings banks that the opportunity to secure

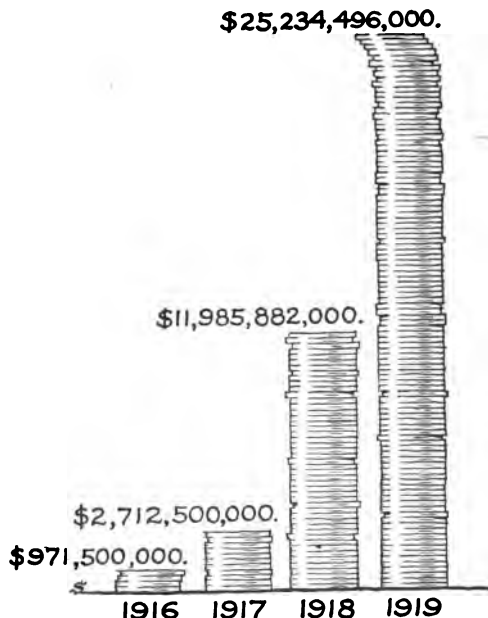


FIG. 19. The public debt of the United States as affected by war. At the end of the Great War the amount paid in interest each year was larger than the total debt in 1916.



Baltimore Public Schools

FIG. 20. The work of this school savings bank is done by pupils selected through competition. Their accounts are checked by the principal and by the officers of the regular bank where the money of the school bank is kept. The pupils are paid interest on their deposits, which total many hundreds of dollars.

interest on small savings is offered to people generally. Savings banks receive deposits as small as one dollar, and they lend money on long-term notes, usually secured by real-estate mortgages. *They pay interest on deposits.* This interest is usually compounded semiannually; that is, the interest is added to the principal, thus making a new principal on which interest is paid (Fig. 19).

At four per cent interest, compounded semiannually, a sum of money will double in seventeen years. If when you are fourteen years old you have

one hundred dollars in the bank and simply leave it there, you will have two hundred when you are thirty-one, four hundred when you are forty-eight, and eight hundred when you are sixty-five. The gain will be made without any effort on your part; you will only have to leave the money in the bank. Interest is a good friend to have working for you. When you have saved a few hundred dollars, you can buy with it shares of stock in a business enterprise. *Any boy or girl can by thrift and with the help of a savings bank become an owner of capital* (Fig. 20).

The *thrift stamps* of the United States are a means of encouraging saving in small amounts. The *postal savings banks* of the government give perfect security for savings, and they pay a low rate of interest.

Owning a home. Of all forms of permanent property that are used for our immediate comfort and enjoyment, the most important is a home. Family life cannot be enjoyed to the full unless there is a place for it. Even a humble dwelling that belongs to those whom it shelters may be a fitter place for a home than the finest rented house (Fig. 21). When one owns the place where he lives, he takes a pleasure in beautifying it, in planting flowers and shrubs, and in caring for the lawn and the walks, that he could not otherwise take.

Home-owning citizens are desirable citizens. *When men come to own homes, they are more sober of judgment and less willing to consider destructive theories in government or economics*, for they have property at stake. The ownership of a home gives a man a



FIG. 21. Birthplace of John Howard Payne, author of "Home, Sweet Home," Easthampton, Long Island, New York.

definite place in the community in which he lives. Laying money aside to buy a home is one of the best forms of saving.

A person can deposit money in a bank until he has enough to buy a home outright, or he can invest his savings in a *building and loan association*. When he builds or buys a home he can borrow money to pay for it from his own building and loan association and, in effect, pay some of the interest on the loan to himself. He can, too, buy a house by making a cash payment of a few hundred dollars and paying the rest of the purchase in monthly *installments*. It costs a little more to buy a home on payments, but many people would never save enough to buy one outright for cash. The fact that they have to meet a payment every month makes saving compulsory.

Insurance. For the great majority of persons even hard work and thrift together are not enough to assure independence under all circumstances. Sickness and death strike when least expected. There was a father, for example, who died of typhoid fever, leaving two children aged five and two, a home partly paid for, and only a few dollars in the bank. The heavy bills for his long illness and the expense of burial came just at the time when his earnings stopped. The result was, as is often the case, that the family had to be taken care of through charity.

There is a better way of meeting misfortune than by depending upon charity, and that is by insurance. No one can foretell just when the head of any family will die. But a study of *statistics of mortality* will



FIG. 22. "Chase Them Away," a newspaper cartoon by Harry Murphy. (Copyrighted, 1920, by the Star Company. Reprinted by permission.)

tell almost exactly how many men of a given age will die in a given length of time. It is possible, therefore, to tell just how much each man out of a hundred or a thousand must pay every year in order to create a fund big enough to pay a thousand dollars to the family of any one of the group who dies. By creating such a fund *the risk of death is distributed among all who contribute*. That is *mutual insurance*. There are also corporations that sell

policies or *contracts of insurance for profit*. The great *old-line* insurance companies are about equally divided between the two types.

Besides the old-line insurance companies there are *fraternal societies*, whose chief purpose is to furnish insurance at a low cost to members. *Insurance can be had to cover any of the risks of life*, such as accident, illness, old age, or unemployment.

Social insurance. Many people believe that taking out insurance should not be left to the voluntary action of individuals, but that certain forms of it, at least, should be *compulsory*. They further contend that a matter of such great social importance as providing insurance should be the *care of the government*, and that it should not be left to depend upon private business enterprise.

Most of the countries of the world have adopted some form or other of *social insurance* to make provision for working people against accident, illness, or old age. The cost of the insurance may be apportioned among the insured, his employer, and the government.

A compulsory system of social insurance involves a limitation of liberty that only extreme necessity can justify. Forcing people into thrift cannot make them really thrifty. The adoption of social insurance in our country will be much discussed during the next few years.

QUESTIONS

How do you distinguish thrift from stinginess; from miserliness? What part does thrift play in the creation of new capital? What is the social importance of saving for a "rainy day"? What is the function of a savings bank? How does it differ from a commercial bank? Give an example of the earning power of money at compound interest. How is the interest on thrift stamps paid? What social value is there in having citizens own their own homes? How does home ownership benefit the individual? How can you get a home on small savings? What is the effect of misfortune on a workman's family? What is insurance? Explain how it works. What is social insurance?

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

Savings banks; building and loan associations; thrift stamps; postal savings banks; social insurance in the several countries of the world. These topics, except the last, can best be investigated through personal interviews with bankers, real-estate men, and postal officials.

A student assigned to interviewing a business man whom he may not know personally, should go with a letter of introduction from the teacher, or the interview should be arranged for by correspondence begun by the student. The student should have well outlined in his mind the questions that he wishes to put, and immediately after the interview he should make notes of all that was said on the subject discussed. The interviewer should remember that the time that a business man can spare from his work is very limited and that he will appreciate brevity.

CIVIC ACTIVITIES

Found a thrift club among the members of the class. Have an officer of a local savings bank talk to the class about saving and let him suggest a plan to be used by the club.

CHAPTER SIX

THE FUNCTION OF MONEY

Three terms that should be distinguished. In our previous discussions, especially of capital and thrift, we have repeatedly spoken of *money*, without concerning ourselves about what money really is. We speak of the *prices* of desired articles in dollars and cents, and we compare the *values* of merchandise offered at different stores. But ordinarily we do not make clear distinctions between the terms "value" and "money" and "prices." It is important, nevertheless, that we should do so.

Value. When a primitive man wanted a pair of skin shoes, he might have made them himself, or he might have *exchanged* for them something that he already possessed. The big question for him, as for us under similar circumstances, was *what he should have to give for them*. This would have depended on the supply of shoes and on the need for the articles he was prepared to offer in exchange. If there were not enough shoes for the feet of the village, he would have had to give more for them than if shoes were plenty. If he had spears to offer and these were rare and much desired, he could have got more for them than if a dozen of the kind leaned against the door of every hut. This would have been true regardless of the fact that it may have taken more labor to make shoes than spears, or that one of these articles may have been essentially more useful than the other.

The worth of one commodity expressed in terms of

another commodity is value. The *value* of any article is determined by the demand for it and the supply of it. We cannot understand fully the working of this rule until we have learned something of the function of money in exchange.

Money. Every one is familiar with the commoner forms of money. There are gold, silver, nickel alloy, and bronze coins; and besides these we have bills, which are as readily accepted as coins. The coins all bear the stamp of the United States and are made at its mints. *Gold is the basis of our whole system of currency*, and the value of all forms of money is expressed in terms of standard gold. The best way to get information about our different



U. S. Geological Survey

FIG. 23. Placer mining near Nome, Alaska. Gold represents labor. The world's stock of gold has been secured at a vast expenditure of capital, labor, and life.

issues of paper money is to read carefully the matter printed on the bills themselves. There are three kinds of notes issued by the United States: (1) *gold* certificates and (2) *silver* certificates, each of which bears evidence that the United States has in its vaults a given amount of gold or silver that it will exchange for the note; (3) *Treasury notes*, which are simply the promises of the United States to pay to bearer stated amounts of money. These forms of notes are declared, like gold and silver coins, to be *legal tender*; *that is, the law requires that they be received at their face value* when tendered in payment of any debt between individuals. *Bank notes*, which people seldom take the trouble to distinguish from legal-tender notes, are issued, under very strict government control, by *National* and *Federal Reserve* banks. They are the promises of the banks to pay the amounts printed on them.

Money a medium of exchange. If a savage had a spear that he wished to part with for a pair of shoes, he had first to hunt up a man with shoes to spare. This might well have caused him a good deal of bother, and when he found a man with shoes, that man might not have wanted a spear at all. If, however, the man with the spear could have exchanged it for some article that other people generally were willing to take in exchange for their possessions, it would surely have been good business for him to do so. In fact, that is what he did; and *some generally accepted article or articles early became the medium through which exchanges were made.*

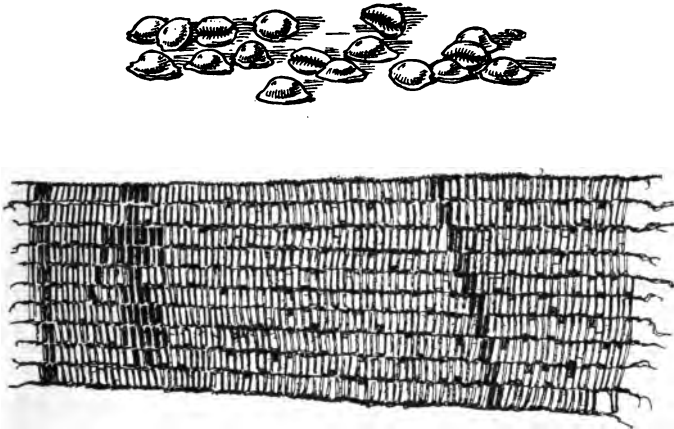


FIG. 24. Wampum and cowrie shells, bars of salt, cattle, and weights of metal have served as currency. Cowrie shells are still used as money in parts of Africa and Asia.

There have been many such acceptable articles or forms of money. The North American Indians used strings or belts of wampum—purple and white pieces of shells, made into hollow, polished cylinders. Among the early settlers in this country, beaver skins and tobacco, as well as wampum, often served as money. We are told that the people of Sparta, in ancient Greece, used iron as money; and the Romans at first used large weights of copper as currency. Gold and silver, however, were more convenient to handle than the baser metals, as a small amount of them had a much larger purchasing power. Therefore, in time, they displaced all other metals as standard money. *Finally, gold alone came to be the standard money everywhere except in China and India and a few other places.*

Our silver, nickel alloy, and bronze coins are only *tokens* useful in making change. Like our paper currency, they represent values fixed in gold. *When paper currency is not readily exchangeable for gold, its value falls at once.* That is why the paper currency of many European countries has such a low exchange value in comparison with United States money.

Checks as money. Depositors in banks generally have *checking accounts*. Instead of withdrawing actual money from banks and paying all their bills in currency, they simply give their checks. This practice is very convenient and has increased rapidly in the last twenty years. When the manufacturer mentioned in the chapter on "Capital" got a loan of \$20,000, he did not receive \$20,000 in coin or paper money. He received merely a *credit* to that amount on the books of the bank. Against this credit he drew his checks to pay for machinery, coal, electric current, water, raw materials, and wages. These checks, after some circulation perhaps, were deposited in banks (Fig. 25).



FIG. 25. A bank check. By writing his name on the back of this check, the man to whose order it is drawn can make it payable to another person.



FIG. 26. The clearing house for the banks of a great city. Each bank's representative has brought the outside checks that his bank has taken. He will exchange these for checks drawn on his bank.

If a check was deposited in the bank on which it was drawn, all that happened was that one man's account was charged and the other man's account was credited with the amount of the check. The medium of exchange in that transaction was *bank credit* represented by a check. If the coal dealer, for example, deposited his check with another bank than the one on which it was drawn, the result would not have been very different. A clerk from the coal dealer's bank would simply have taken the check to the *clearing house* along with the rest of the checks on other banks received during one business day. At a clearing house the clerks of all the banks of a city bring together "outside checks." They then ex-

change checks with one another, and only small balances are settled in cash. *The quantity of medium of exchange is thus very much enlarged by the use of bank credits represented by checks (Fig. 26).*

Prices. The value of anything expressed in money—what you have to pay to get it—is called its *price*. *Money is therefore a measure of value as well as a medium of exchange.* If you shorten a measuring stick, the stick will have to be laid down more times to cover a given distance. If the value of the dollar is reduced, more dollars will be required to make any purchase, and we say that prices rise. *An increase in the supply of money lowers its value and raises prices* just as an increase in the supply of spears, among primitive men, would have lowered the barter value of spears.

The high prices in this country following our entrance into the Great War were largely due to the issuance of vast quantities of Federal Reserve notes and to an enormous expansion of bank credits, which, as we have seen, often take the place of money. All together, the result was to reduce the value of money about one half—in effect, to double prices. In Germany so much paper money was issued that it took fourteen marks to buy what one mark had bought before the war. There is great temptation for a government when hard pressed for money to issue a billion dollars or so in printed currency, declare it legal tender, and pay it out to its creditors. *There can, nevertheless, be no escape from the rule that the more money there is the less it is worth.* The gold



Interborough Rapid Transit Company

FIG. 27. "The Shrunk Nickel." Where 64 nickels would buy a ton of coal before America entered the war, they would buy only half a ton in 1919.

produced each year is so little in comparison with that already in existence that gold is by far the steady measure of value.

QUESTIONS

What is value? How is it determined? Give an example. What different kinds of United States money are there? What is meant by the expression, "Money is a medium of exchange"? Why is such a medium necessary? Mention some things that have been used as money. Why has gold become the universal money? In what sense are checks money? What effect has their use had on the quantity of money? Explain the statement, "Money is a measure of value." What are "prices"? What relation has the quantity of money to value and prices? Give examples. Why is gold such a steady measure of value?

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

Money in colonial times; Continental currency; Confederate paper money. Prices after the Civil War. The demand for the free coinage of silver as expressed in the presidential campaign of 1896. Prices in European countries during and after the Great War. The prevailing exchange rates for pounds, francs, marks, lire, expressed in terms of our currency. It is not to be expected that some of these topics can be more than touched upon.

The best work for reference on money is BULLOCK, C. J., *Monetary History of the United States*. See also general works on Economics previously referred to, and REED, T. H., *Form and Functions of American Government*, Chapter 34.

CIVIC ACTIVITIES

Have the class, with the help of mothers and fathers, compile and put on the blackboard a table showing about what were the retail prices of common articles of home use fifteen years ago, and what they are today.

CHAPTER SEVEN

DEMAND, SUPPLY, AND COMPETITION

Demand. We have noted that the value of any article, including money, is determined by the *demand* for it and the *supply* of it. It will repay us to consider more carefully how this principle works out. The first few hundred boxes of great "Black Tartarian" cherries hurried by express from a California orchard to the New York market brings a fancy price, for the demand is far greater than the supply. As the season progresses and larger and larger shipments arrive, the commission merchants have to lower the price to move the piles of boxes from their warehouses. A few people, who have the means, will buy the earliest and highest-priced cherries; but most of us, before buying, have to consider carefully whether other things will not be more useful to us than cherries.

There is a limited demand for cherries at a dollar a pound, and there is a very great demand for them at ten cents a pound. The ten-cent price will usually prevail when it becomes necessary to make that low price in order to sell enough cherries to dispose of the stock on hand. Then all purchasers will pay ten cents, including those who might be willing, if cherries were scarce, to pay one dollar (Fig. 28).

Where a reduction of a few cents in the price of an article will vastly increase its consumption or a rise of a few cents correspondingly decrease it, the demand for that article is said to be *elastic*. Where great fluctuations in price are met by only slight

changes in demand, the demand is said to be *inelastic*. The demand for luxuries—California cherries, for

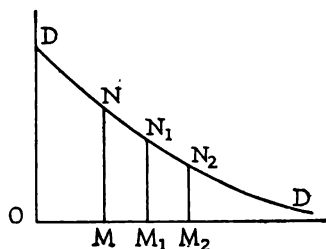


FIG. 28. The curve of demand (the line DD). If cherries sell at MN cents a box, OM boxes will be sold—not a large number. If they sell at M_1N_1 cents, a lower price, more boxes, OM_1 , will be sold. If they sell at M_2N_2 , a still lower price, a still greater number of boxes (M_2N_2) will be sold. The demand may be expected to extend as the price decreases.

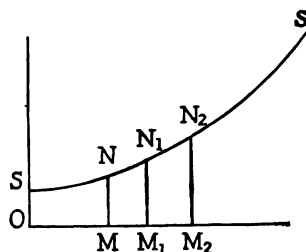


FIG. 29. The curve of supply (the line SS). If the price of an article, as milk, is MN , the number of quarts that the producers will sell to distributors will be represented by the line OM . If the price is increased to M_1N_1 , the producers will sell more milk and the quarts sold will be represented by OM_1 . If the price is increased to M_2N_2 , the producers will sell a total number of quarts represented by the line M_2N_2 . Ordinarily, the supply will be extended as the price is increased.

example—is very elastic. The demand for necessities is inelastic. We need bread so regularly and so much that we will pay what we must to get it.

Supply. When men cultivated the soil by scratch—ing it with sharp sticks, they received a small return from it. As they applied better tools and came to work more steadily, the land responded and brought forth more abundantly. There comes a time, however, when a farmer who has been getting about twenty bushels of wheat to the acre finds that it will

take as much labor and capital to increase the yield by ten bushels as it did to produce the original twenty. This illustrates what is known as *the law of diminishing returns*. It applies not only to agriculture but also to the production of such things as coal, iron, and oil, which come out of the ground. Unless there are new discoveries or inventions, *the supply of those things which come directly from the earth*, within a given producing area, can be increased only at *an increasing cost for each unit of production* (the bushel of wheat or ton of coal will be more costly).

On the other hand, most manufactured articles obey a contrary law, that of *increasing returns*. To make one chair by hand is an expensive job. It costs much less, for each chair, to make many hundreds of chairs in a factory. The more chairs a factory makes, the cheaper it should be able to sell them, up to the point where the business becomes unwieldy. In the case, then, of *manufactured articles* it is generally true that *production on a greater scale lowers the cost for each unit of production*. The lower the cost, the lower may be the selling price; and the lower the selling price (under normal conditions), the greater the demand.

Monopoly. Good stone arrowheads were made chiefly from flint, and the most suitable flint was to be found only within limited areas. Suppose that a wandering savage stumbled on the first supply of this stone in the experience of his tribe and that he kept its location a secret. He alone could supply

arrowheads of the most desired material. *He would have a monopoly of their production and could fix the barter price to suit himself. If he fixed it very high, he could sell only a few of them. If he fixed it low enough he could sell to every hunter in the tribe. He would, if shrewd enough, fix the barter price at the point where the price multiplied by the number of sales would give him the largest return in wampum or food or such articles as shoes. That point would be determined according to whether the arrowhead-making industry obeyed the law of diminishing or of increasing returns and whether the demand was elastic or inelastic.*

If there was only a little of the desired flint in sight and more could be obtained only by tireless searching, the man with the flint monopoly would fix the barter price high, because the law of diminishing returns would apply to his enterprise. If the flint was plentiful and his skill in making grew with practice, he would probably fix the price low, because the law of increasing returns would apply.

If the arrowheads of this particular flint were necessary to a hunter's success and on that success depended the food of the hunter and his family, the man with the flint monopoly could get a much higher price (the demand being inelastic) than if there were good substitutes for his arrowheads or if there were abundant supplies of other foods than game (the demand for the arrowheads being elastic).

The same principles operate in the case of a modern monopoly. Monopolies are most dangerous when they control a necessity or near necessity of life, the

production of which obeys the law of diminishing returns.

Competition. Now let us suppose that the whole tribe knew where to find an abundant supply of the favored stone. Every tribesman skilled in chipping flint would be free to use this material. *He would offer his product in competition* with the work of all the rest. Each would try his best to make better arrowheads than his competitors. The price would be determined by the *free operation of the laws of supply and demand*. In the long run, each man would be willing to take a barter price that would repay him for the trouble of getting the flint, for his labor in fashioning the arrowheads, and for the labor and saving represented by the rude implements in his workshop. In modern industry these price factors would correspond to the *value of raw materials*, the *wages of labor*, and *interest on the capital invested*. Taken together, they constitute the *cost of production* of any commodity. If the price of any article rises much above this level, new capital and labor will be put to work at producing it because of the prospect of profit. Thus the supply will be increased and the price lowered. If, however, the price falls much below the cost of production, labor and capital will go into other channels until the supply has been decreased and the price raised (Fig. 29).

Competition, within reasonable limits, makes for good service and for well-made goods. Wherever it exists, it is *an automatic regulator of prices*. "Cut-

throat competition," however, never results in permanent advantage to consumers. The waste and loss involved in such competition must in the end fall upon consumers. Often such competition has paved the way for monopoly, as when producers have entered into *combines* to escape ruinous competition among themselves (in spite of laws designed to prevent them from doing so).

Wages and labor. When a worker using his own tools and materials makes or finishes a usable article, he pays himself for his labor by using the article or by selling it. But in these days of modern industry, with its minute division of labor and its large use of machinery, few men work with materials and tools of their own and turn out a completed article. Each man does a bit towards production, as in the case of the woolen suit. The Wyoming sheep herder and the Massachusetts spinner are paid out of the price of the suit, but this is done very indirectly. If each of them had to wait for the long process of production to be completed before he got his share of the product, he would starve. Employers—capitalists—besides providing the outfit and sheep in the case of the herder, and machinery and wool in the case of the spinner, advance out of their capital weekly or monthly money payments to the workers. Such advances are called *wages*. In some form or other every worker of whatever grade receives wages.

Wages, under natural conditions, are determined by the supply of and demand for labor. In this respect labor is a commodity like cotton, wool, or iron. It



Library of Congress

FIG. 30. "Labor," a painting by Charles Sprague Pearce. The reward of such workers was meager.

differs from other commodities, however, in that the laborer is indivisibly united to his labor. We cannot safely disregard this factor or treat human labor as if it were a thing merely to be bought as cheaply as the law of supply and demand will allow. *Wages can not long remain either less than will enable the worker to live, or more than the value which his labor adds to the thing on which he works.*

In this country there has been a great advance in the standard of living during the last century. *Real wages* (wages measured by what they will buy) have increased greatly, and the general welfare of workers has been permanently raised. If labor were to be regarded merely as a commodity, this would be a misfortune to every user of labor or of the things that labor makes. But a general im-



U. S. Bureau of Farm Management

FIG. 31. Reaping and binding wheat with modern farm machinery. The reward of these men is vastly more than was that of primitive agricultural workers.

provement in the condition of most people cannot be regarded as a misfortune. With better food, better living conditions, and better education, workers have become, on the whole, more efficient than before.

Rent. Where a family does not own its home, it pays "rent" for the house or apartment in which it lives. Part of this payment, of course, represents interest on the capital invested in the building. The rest is for the use of the land on which the building stands. For our present purposes only the part paid for the use of the land is properly termed *rent*. *Rent is what is paid for the use of land or other natural resources such as water power.* If there are two farms of the same size, equally distant from a good market,

but one of them having a rich, well-watered soil, the other having a thin, stony soil, subject to drought, you certainly would prefer the first one. If with equal expenditure of labor the first farm would produce \$3,000 worth of grain, and the second but \$1,500 worth, you could pay any amount less than \$1,500 as rent for the first farm and still make more money than on the second, rent free. *There are always some farms that just repay the labor and capital which are used in cultivating them, leaving nothing for rent. The difference between what such a farm will yield and what a better farm will yield is the thing your rent pays for.* If you own your farm, you still enjoy this advantage; but you paid the rent all at once in the purchase price.

Some people argue that rent is an unfair reward for mere good fortune in getting a favorable site, and that rent ought to be taken away from those who receive it, by a tax—"the single tax." Most people who own land that produces a high rent, however, have bought that land at a high price. We may say that by so doing they have paid the rent in advance. To them the single tax would be extremely unjust.

QUESTIONS

How does lowering the price of a commodity affect the demand for it? What is meant by elastic demand; inelastic demand? For what classes of commodities is demand elastic? Give examples. For what classes is it inelastic? Give examples. What is the law of diminishing returns? To what sources of production does it apply? What is the law of increasing returns? Where does it apply? What is monopoly? Give examples of monopoly. What considerations

govern a monopolist in fixing the price of his commodity? In what circumstances will he fix it at a relatively low point? When are monopolies most dangerous to the public welfare? How will prices be determined if competition exists? What has the cost of production to do with prices under competitive conditions? Why? How is labor now paid? Why is this necessary? In what respects is labor like other commodities? In what respects is it different? Can we afford to neglect these points of difference? What are the bottom and top limits of wages, in the long run? Is improvement in the prevailing standard of living a good thing? Why? In what sense is the word "rent" used in this chapter? What is the reason for differences in rent? By what kind of sites is the rent of all other sites measured? Who gets the rent if you own the land you use?

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

Construct the demand curve for any commodity in the local market, such as strawberries, green corn, and potatoes. Students will need the aid of their parents or of local dealers in securing data for constructing this curve. See which pupil can bring in the longest list of articles that are sold under conditions approaching monopoly. Wages in your city and the single tax will be interesting topics. See general works previously mentioned. On the single tax see FILLEBROWN, C. B., *The A, B, C of Taxation*, who favors it, and PLEHN, C. C., *Introduction to Public Finance*, who opposes it.

CIVIC ACTIVITIES

Have the city or county assessor or some other qualified person talk to the class on land values (which are usually proportionate to rents) and the reasons for differences in values.

PART TWO
THE FUNDAMENTALS OF CITIZENSHIP
Liberty and Democracy

It is a capital error to fail to recognize the vital need of good laws. It is also a capital error to believe that good laws will accomplish anything unless the average man has the right stuff in him.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE PRIVILEGES OF CITIZENSHIP

American liberty. We have seen that two principles—liberty and coöperation—are at the basis of human happiness. Like the two chief parts of a machine, they must be nicely adjusted to one another. If there be too much of one, there cannot be enough of the other. This country of ours was established on a higher ideal of freedom than the world had known before. The *Declaration of Independence* stated that “governments were instituted among men” to secure certain “inalienable rights,” among which were “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” Thus the principles of our country were declared at its birth, and to those principles it has remained true (Figs. 32 and 33). *The United States assures each of its citizens all the freedom that he can enjoy without interfering with some one else’s freedom.* Of course, conduct that breaks down the coöperation of our citizens for common ends or which conflicts with the general welfare cannot be justified in the name of liberty.

Citizenship. *Children born in the United States, of American parents, are by reason of that fact citizens.* So are children born of foreign parents, unless when they reach the age of twenty-one they choose to retain the nationality of their parents. Any white foreigner (or person of African descent) can be *naturalized* after five years of residence, if he can establish that he is of good moral character and understands our system of government. In most



FIG. 32. A beach patrol of the Coast Guard Life-Saving Service. Directly and indirectly, our country constantly protects the lives, liberty, and property of its citizens.

evening schools there are naturalization classes in which those who have declared their intention to become citizens—who have “taken out their first papers”—are prepared for citizenship. Except for the right of participating in the government, most of the benefits of citizenship are enjoyed by every resident of our country.

Protection from foreign enemies. *The United States defends its citizens and their possessions from foreign enemies.* In this respect it does not differ

from other countries; but in making it effective, the United States has been successful above most nations. We should not cease to be grateful for the security which we enjoy.

Protection from internal disorder. *Our country also preserves peace and order within its borders.* It protects our lives and property from the violence or treachery of the criminally disposed elements in the population. Through courts, judges, and police and military forces it assures that safety without which there can be no real liberty.

Protection of personal liberty. Our country not only protects us against other people. By provisions of the Constitution of the United States, and by similar provisions in the constitution of the states, it *protects the individual against possible tyranny by government itself.* This is what makes American freedom so secure and so precious to us all.

DANGERS TO NAVIGATION

(Reported by Hydrographic Office)

April 9—Lat. 40.40 lon. 46.37, a derelict three-masted schooner on fire and abandoned; crew rescued.

March 29—Lat. 46.22 lon. 30.14, a derelict about 100 feet long and awash.

April 9—Lat. 42.17 lon. 49.29, an iceberg 400 feet long and 45 feet high.

April 10—Lat. 44.32 lon. 48.10, in between two bergs and ten growlers in a line, north and south, and 4 miles distant on each side of the ship.

FIG. 33. Such information, which helps to prevent loss of life and property at sea, is regularly supplied to the newspapers of seaport towns by the hydrographic office of the Navy Department.

The first ten amendments to the Constitution of the United States are known as *our* Bill of Rights. These amendments and several clauses in the Constitution as originally ratified specify the safeguards of individual liberty. Some of these are, in effect, as follows:

(a) *Freedom of speech, press, and worship.* All citizens are assured the freedom to worship God in their own way, to speak or print their opinions, and peaceably to meet for the discussion of public questions. Freedom of worship is an inestimable blessing which a century ago belonged to the people of only a few countries. Freedom in speaking and publishing are necessary to real government by the people of a country (Fig. 34).



FIG. 34. Free speech on Boston Common. Without free speech there can be no free government.

WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS—124—1243-B

State of Illinois, } ss. THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS
Peoria County }

TO James Beall, Sheriff of Peoria County, Illinois. GREETING:

You are hereby commanded to have the body of William D. McCluggage,

by whom imprisoned and detained, as it is said, together with the time and cause of such imprisonment and detention,

by whatever name the said William D. McCluggage,

shall be called or charged, before the Circuit Court of said Peoria County, at the Court House in Peoria, in said County,

on Thursday, January 6th A. D. 1921, at 10 o'clock A.M.

Immediately after being served with this writ, to be dealt with according to law: And have you then and there this

WITNESS George Sturch

Clerk of said Circuit Court, and the Seal thereof, at Peoria, this

day of A. D. 1921

George Sturch Clerk

By Deputy

To Henry W. Lafgren, Coroner, to deliver

FIG. 35. A writ of habeas corpus. Except for such a writ, a person confined in an asylum or jail might be held indefinitely without just cause.

(b) *Security of property.* No man may be arbitrarily deprived of his property. He always has a chance to defend his rights in court. Even if the government takes property for necessary public purposes, it must pay what the property is worth as determined by a jury.

(c) *Trial by jury.* One accused of crime is entitled to trial by a jury of twelve of his fellow citizens, chosen by lot.

(d) *Habeas corpus.* No man can be held long in prison without trial. His friends can secure from a judge an order known as a *writ of habeas corpus* which obliges his jailer to produce him in court. If

he is being improperly held, the judge will order his release (Fig. 35).

(e) *Other safeguards.* No excessive bail may be demanded or cruel and unusual punishment imposed. Even officers of the government may not search one's house without a warrant.

The crowning privilege of citizenship. We have enumerated a few of the advantages of living under the flag of the United States, which are extended even to foreign residents. We have yet to mention the crowning privilege of citizenship—a privilege which only citizens twenty-one years of age or over can exercise—the right to vote. The fact that those who make and carry out our laws hold their places by the will of the people assures our freedom. The idea of the importance of the ballot is well expressed in a stanza by John Greenleaf Whittier:

Not lightly fall
Beyond recall
The written scrolls a breath can float;
The crowning fact,
The kingliest act,
Of Freedom is the freeman's vote.

QUESTIONS

What is the announced purpose of our government? Who can be citizens of the United States? Why do we take the privileges of citizens for granted? What does our country do to protect us from foreign enemies? from internal disorder? How are we protected against governmental tyranny? What limitations may there be on the rights of public assembly and freedom of speech and of the press?

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

Naturalization (see REED, T. H., *Form and Functions of American Government*, pages 50, 104, 106, 297). A day's record of the police

in protecting the public, as shown by the station blotter. The Declaration of Independence; the Bill of Rights of the Constitution of the United States; the Bill of Rights of your state; Magna Charta; the English Bill of Rights of 1689.

CIVIC ACTIVITIES

Let different members of a committee of pupils interview a lawyer, a newspaper reporter, a clergyman, a teacher, and a business man, and ask: "Should anarchists be allowed freedom of speech when they preach their doctrine in public places?" Compare answers in class; discuss and debate.

CHAPTER NINE

THE DUTIES OF CITIZENSHIP

Our republic: its rulership. *Democracy* is a word from the Greek which means "the people rule." We use the term to designate a government such as our own, in which laws are made and enforced by representatives chosen by the people. Every native-born American upon reaching the age of twenty-one is called upon to take a direct part in the government of the country and whichever of its subdivisions he happens to reside in. So is every naturalized citizen. It is because *all must participate in the government of our country* that it is especially important for each of us to have accurate ideas about its Constitution and to know its problems.

Autocracies. In the governments of Russia, Germany, and Austria, as organized before the war, the real authority rested in an Emperor—the autocrat—or in the small group that surrounded and often controlled him. While elected representatives of the people had some share in the government, it was a very small one, and the ordinary citizen was expected to do little more than obey the orders of his superiors. Even in Germany, where all boys and girls went to school, they were trained rather to serve their country under the direction of others than to help govern it. Such countries are called *autocratic monarchies* or merely *autocracies*.

Other democracies. There are several great democracies besides our own. These include France, Great Britain, and Italy. In Great Britain and



FIG. 36. President Harding paying a quarter for admission to the public golf links at Washington, D. C. Our President is, after all, one of the people and must submit to the laws and regulations which apply to other citizens.

Italy the head of the government is a king, who is not an actual ruler. Such governments are called *constitutional* or *limited monarchies*. In them *the real power lies in the representatives of the people*, and they are in many respects as democratic as is the government of the United States. France, like the United States, has at the head of its government an elected officer, the President. Such governments are called *republics*.

Responsibility of the individual citizen. Each American citizen should have a sense of personal responsibility for the welfare of his country. But too often he feels that his duties are shared by so many others that he need not concern himself about

them. It is clear, however, that if every one said, "I do not need to fulfill my duty as a citizen because others will," no one would ever fulfill his duty. The duties of the citizen and voter are: First, to *obey the law* and the lawful commands of those in authority; second, to *act wisely and understandingly in the election of other citizens* to represent him in the conduct of the government; and third, to *stand ready to defend his country* with his life (Fig. 37).

The increasing complexity of government. There was a time when government concerned itself about little more than furnishing protection against foreign enemies and maintaining peace within its territories. The needs as well as the duties of the citizen were then comparatively simple. But as civilization has become more complex the individual has become more and more dependent on government for services that are vital to him. For example, take the case of water. If you live in the country and have your own well, you can, perhaps, take measures that will protect you against impurities in the water. If, however, water comes to you and thousands of others through miles of pipe from a source you never saw, you will be quite unable to keep your water supply free from contamination or to determine whether or not it contains germs such as those of typhoid fever. In like manner you will be unable to determine the true contents of the bottle of milk that is left at your door each morning, or of the can of goods from the grocer's. To protect you in such matters, inspectors are employed by the government. *The wider its ser-*



Metropolitan Museum of Art

FIG. 37. The supreme service of loyal citizenship. "Carry On," a celebrated poster by Edwin Blashfield.

vices, the more highly government must be organized and the more intelligently it needs to be managed. The citizen must keep himself well informed in order that he may do his duty as a voter.

You are now entering the Palisades Interstate Park. It is a Public Park, extending at this point from the river's edge to the top of the cliffs in a northerly and southerly direction for a distance of twelve and a half miles.

The trees and shrubbery in this Park are of priceless value to the public. They must be preserved. We ask you to refrain from picking autumn leaves or branches. We know how much you enjoy them but if you pick them today, you will deprive others of the pleasure of seeing them tomorrow and you will disfigure the Park.

Will you please follow these suggestions as to your own action and where you see others picking leaves or breaking branches be good enough to use your influence in persuading them not to do so?

Your cooperation will be appreciated.

FIG. 38. An effective printed appeal to the cooperative spirit of visitors to a great park. No loyal citizen would disregard it.

Loyalty. We can sum up all of the citizen's duties in the one word *loyalty*. If you want a reason for being loyal, you can find one in this fact: that your country can give you opportunities for freedom and cooperation only through *good* government, which depends upon the loyalty of citizens. *It is to your interest to be loyal.* It is also to the interest of your fellow citizens that you, as well as they, should be loyal, in order to secure for all the benefits of a well-governed country; but after all, *loyalty to one's country is something more than loyalty to one's own interests*, or even to the interests of his fellow citizens. Your country's ideals and the blood that has been shed to achieve them have given it a *personality* which is worthy of the deepest devotion,

QUESTIONS

What is democracy? What is an autocracy? Give examples. What is a limited monarchy? Give examples. What is a republic?

Name ten important republics. What are three extremely important duties of citizenship? Give as many examples as you can of the services rendered by government. What reasons can you give for being loyal?

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

This is a good place to begin the study of comparative government by assigning as topics for report the governments of countries mentioned in the text. Comparisons might well be made between the governments of France and the United States and of France and Great Britain. Some possible sources of information are WILSON, WOODROW, *The State* (Revised Edition, 1918); OGG, F. A., *The Governments of Europe*; SATT, E. M., *Government and Politics of France*; KRÜGER, F. K., *Government and Politics of the German Empire* (old system); BROOKS, R. C., *Government and Politics of Switzerland*; DODD, W. E., *Modern Constitutions* (contains the constitutions of all the principal countries of the world down to 1909). Any good encyclopedia will be very useful, as will files of *Review of Reviews*, *Literary Digest*, and *Current History*.

CIVIC ACTIVITIES

Have a loyalty hour, with a patriotic program by the class. Include the reading of a portion of the Declaration of Independence, and let several examples of loyalty to home, school, or country be reported by members of the class. One of the best examples—of devotion to humanity—was the act of several members of the United States Public Health Service who allowed themselves to be bitten by *Stegomyia* mosquitoes in order to determine whether or not they were the carriers of yellow fever. Dr. Jesse Lazear died as a result of this experiment.

CHAPTER TEN

ELECTIONS

The ballot box. The central device in our republic consists of a very large number of boxes of many shapes and sizes, in which our citizens place their ballots at election time. Our government can never be any better than the votes recorded on the ballots which go into these boxes; its wisdom cannot be greater than the wisdom of its citizens as expressed at the polls. *Our representatives can never be any better than we, the people, choose them to be.* Since government in the United States is carried on almost altogether by representatives, our chief business as citizens is to select them.

Who may vote. In order to vote at a national election, one must be a citizen of the United States, at least twenty-one years of age. In some states the voter must pass a very simple educational test; in

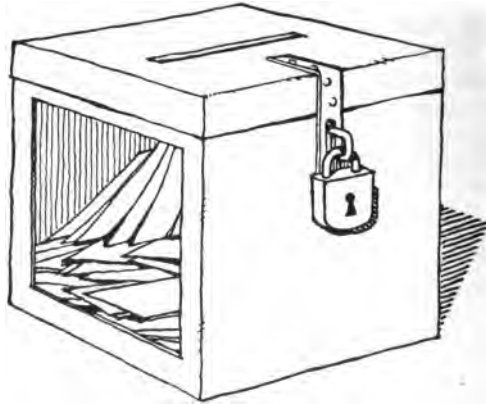


FIG. 39. The ballot box—a symbol of the rule of the people.



FIG. 40. An election scene. Secret voting represents a great advance over the ancient method of election by the shouts of the people.

others the payment of a poll tax is required. It is also generally necessary to have *registered* one's name as a voter at some time preceding the election, and to have resided thirty days in the *precinct*, from three to six months in the county, and a year in the state.

Polling places and election officers. There must be a polling place for every few hundred voters, and for this purpose the community is divided into *election districts* or precincts. For each polling place there is an *election board*, consisting usually of from three to six persons, appointed by the county clerk or other officer. It is the duty of the board to see that only properly registered persons vote; that the secrecy of the ballot is preserved; and, when the

To vote for a Person, mark a Cross X in the Square at the right of the Party Name, or Political Designation. X		
GOVERNOR.....Vote for ONE		
CHANNING H. COX—OF BOSTON	Republican	
WALTER S. HUTCHINS—OF GREENFIELD	Socialist	
PATRICK MULLIGAN—OF BOSTON	Socialist Labor	
JOHN J. WALSH—OF BOSTON	Democratic	
LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR.....Vote for ONE		
MARCUS A. COOLIDGE—OF FITCHBURG	Democratic	
DAVID CRAIG—OF MILFORD	Socialist Labor	
ALVAN T. FULLER—OF WALDEN	Republican	
THOMAS NICHOLSON—OF METHUEN	Socialist	
ROBERT M. WASHBURN—OF BOSTON	Independent	
SECRETARY.....Vote for ONE		
FREDERIC W. COOK—OF SOMERVILLE	Republican	
EDWARD E. GINSBURG—OF BROOKLINE	Democratic	
ANTHONY HOUTENBRINK—OF BOSTON	Socialist Labor	
EDITH M. WILLIAMS—OF BROOKLINE	Socialist	

Fig. 41. Section of a Massachusetts ballot. The same arrangement of candidates' names is used for every office to be filled.

election is over, to count the votes. You can readily see that this duty is an important one. The members of the board are usually paid for their work.

The ballot. We vote at elections by means of ballots which are printed and supplied at the voting places by the state, county, city, or other division for which the election is held. The voter on receiving his ballot takes it into a separate, curtained booth, where he marks it. He then folds it in such a way that the markings cannot be seen, and hands it to an election officer. The officer, without unfolding the ballot, deposits it in the ballot box. Since the *voting is secret*, every one can feel free to vote as he pleases without fear of any other person's criticism (Fig. 40).

The form of ballot differs very much from state to state. In Massachusetts the names of the candidates are arranged alphabetically under the titles of the respective offices for which they are running. A voter must put a cross opposite the name of each candidate for whom he wishes to vote. This form of ballot has been adopted very widely throughout the country. In some other states what is known as the *party-column ballot* is used. In this form of ballot the names of the candidates of each party for the various offices are arranged in a column under the name of that party. Where the party-column ballot is used, a person can sometimes vote the whole of a column by marking a cross in a circle at the top. The *Massachusetts ballot* is much better, because it makes it as easy to vote a "split ticket" as a "straight ticket"; that is, as easy to mark the ballot if one chooses to

vote for men from different parties as to mark the ballot if one chooses to vote only for the candidates from one party. This encourages *independent voting*—makes the voter less subservient to party. In many places, city-election ballots contain no party names whatever; and this is likewise true for some county, judicial, and State offices.

Voting machines. In some places voting machines are used. These are ingenious devices inclosed in steel cabinets. On the front of each machine the candidates' names are arranged as on a paper ballot. For each name there is a lever. The voter pulls the levers for the candidates that he wishes to have elected. The device works like an adding machine, recording and totaling the vote. On another type of voting machine the voter merely sets pointers beside the name that he selects. As he passes out of the booth through a turnstile, his vote is automatically recorded.

Counting the vote. The polls are open from morning to evening, usually about twelve hours in all. After they are closed, the board begins to count the ballots. Persons interested are allowed to watch the count. The difficulty of counting depends on the number of candidates and propositions on the ballot. Sometimes it takes days to complete the count.

Honesty of elections. Generally speaking, elections are fairly conducted and the vote is counted honestly. The law provides very severe penalties for *bribery*—buying votes; *intimidation*—trying to scare voters in an effort to influence them; *personation*—









  DEMOCRATIC TICKET	  REPUBLICAN TICKET	  SOCIALIST TICKET	  SINGLE TAX TICKET
For Governor, VIC DONAHUE	For Governor, HARRY L. DAVIS	For Governor, FRANK B. HAMILTON	For Governor, EARL H. FOSTER
For Lieutenant Governor, HOWELL WRIGHT	For Lieutenant Governor, CLARENCE J. BROWN	For Lieutenant Governor, O. G. VAN SCHUYCK	For Lieutenant Governor, W. O. BLASE
For Secretary of State, WILLIAM D. FULTON	For Secretary of State, HARVEY C. SMITH	For Secretary of State, GERHON MARKERT	For Secretary of State, JASPER THUMAN
For Auditor of State, DANIEL E. BUTLER	For Auditor of State, JOSEPH T. TRACY	For Auditor of State, LOUIS H. NEFF	For Auditor of State, J. H. KAUFFMAN
For Treasurer of State, CHARLES B. ORWIG	For Treasurer of State, RUDOLPH W. ARCHER	For Treasurer of State, MAX GOODMAN	For Treasurer of State, ADAM LEHR
For Attorney General, JOSEPH McGHEE	For Attorney General, JOHN C. PRICE	For Attorney General, JOSEPH W. SHARTS	For Attorney General, GEORGE EDWARDS
For United States Senator, W. A. JULIAN	For United States Senator, FRANK B. WILLIS	For United States Senator,	For United States Senator, HENRY E. STRONG

FIG. 42. A good example of a party-column ballot. Note the circle at the top of each column; also the party emblems for the guidance of illiterate electors. By putting a cross in one of the circles, the elector votes for the whole list of the party indicated. But he may "scratch the ballot"—vote separately for men of different parties.

voting under some other person's name; and for betrayal of the *secrecy of the ballot* by election officers. There are statutes also that limit the amount of money that candidates may spend in campaigning for election, and requiring that publicity be given to their expenditures. Such provisions help to assure the honesty of elections; but *the loyal citizen must be vigilant* in order to make them effective.

QUESTIONS

Why is the use of the ballot box the central fact in American democracy? Who may vote? What is registration? What are the duties of election officers? What is the advantage of the Massa-

chusetts ballot? What other forms of ballot are there? Are elections honestly conducted?

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

Qualifications for voting in your state. The appointment, pay, and duties of election officers. The laws of your state for assuring the honesty of elections. Election laws are printed in pamphlet form in most states and can usually be obtained from the secretary of state at the state capitol. See RAY, P. O., *Introduction to Political Parties and Practical Politics*; REED, T. H., *Form and Functions of American Government*, Chapter 12.

CIVIC ACTIVITIES

Elect officers for your class organization by ballot, following as closely as may be the practice in elections of public officers. Make use of the ballot also to decide other matters as they arise.

Elections occur very frequently. Let the class take advantage of the first one that offers, in order to learn at first hand as much as possible about it. Use the sample ballots and visit the polls.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

POLITICAL PARTIES

What political parties are. On the ballot used in most elections the party of each candidate is clearly indicated, as Republican, Democratic, Socialist, or other. In theory, *a party is a group of citizens organized for the purpose of making effective their common views as to how the government should be run.* Unfortunately, parties sometimes become nothing more than the means for getting one clique or another elected to office. Powerful “bosses” use them to further their own ends in public affairs. The party organization sometimes becomes a mere “machine” which the boss manipulates.

Parties help to express the will of the people. Without parties it would be practically impossible for our citizens to express their will. Suppose that in your state there were no political parties and that each voter were to cast his ballot for the man whom, of all men in the state, he considered best fitted to be governor. There would, of course, be a very large number of persons voted for. If one of these received a *plurality*,—that is, more votes than any other

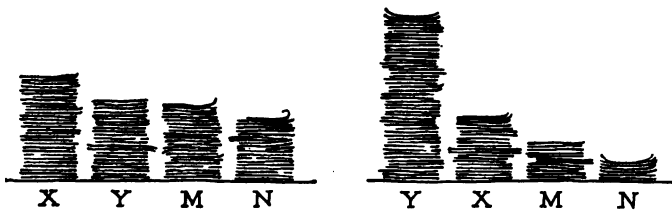


FIG. 43. A plurality and a majority. “X” has a plurality, though he has received but a small fraction of all the votes cast. “Y” has a majority—more than half of all the votes cast.

candidate,—his vote would probably be a very small part of the total vote cast. The great majority might have preferred almost anybody to him. He could not really claim to represent the people, and it would not be at all surprising if his views and policy were just what they did not care for. [This illustration is drawn from *The Citizen's Part in Government*, by Elihu Root.]

Now let us suppose that at the next election men interested in some particular business or in some particular theory of government should say to one another, "Let us get together and vote for one candidate for governor." Undoubtedly the candidate of this group or of some other similar group would be elected. The value of *getting together in advance* of the election would be clearly shown. Henceforth, groups of voters would unite for the purpose of getting the action that each group considered most important. For this purpose they would be willing to forget about the less important matters on which they differed.

The two-party system. The process of bringing voters together has gone on in Great Britain, her colonies, and the United States, until we ordinarily have two groups or parties that contend for supremacy. There are minor parties, but usually only two great parties. This is really very fortunate, because the candidate of one or the other of the great parties is sure to be chosen. His views are likely to represent those of a majority of his fellow citizens. (In 1912 there were three parties that polled very large votes in

the contest for the presidency. This was due to a split in the Republican party. The so-called Progressive party, however, was short lived.)

In some countries there are many political parties, of shifting strength, each of which manages to elect its special group of representatives. In order to get any laws of importance passed, the many little groups must be brought together. Then each little group "demands its pound of flesh"—some promise of special favor. The result often is that some good laws are not passed though many people want them, while other laws are passed that few people want. *It is only through great political parties that very large numbers of people can make up their minds as to the political policies that they want to have put into effect and as to whom they wish to elect.*

Our duty toward parties. Since political parties are necessary under our system of government, *it is only right that every citizen should participate in party activities.* To say, "Parties are bad, so I'll have nothing to do with them," is merely to hand over to others one's share in the control of party machinery. Party power may the easier, then, fall into the hands of evil people who will make the worst possible use of it. It is not good sportsmanship to sit on the side lines at a football game and "knock" the players. It is not good citizenship to neglect duty; and a voter cannot make up for such neglect by criticism, no matter how just, of those who take advantage of his fault (Fig. 44).

The dangers of hidebound partisanship. There

was once a half back on a Harvard football team, great in every other respect, who had one serious



New York Times

FIG. 44. The well-being of each party depends upon the individual citizen's performance of his duties as a voter. In this cartoon by Mr. Edwin Marcus, the two great political parties are represented as distressed at the indifference of the voter.

fault. He unconsciously always glanced toward the point in the line at which a coming play was to be directed. Some Yale men detected this habit and in the "big game" with Yale every play in which this half back participated was blocked. He gave himself and his team away without knowing it. In a very similar way, a person who can be counted on to vote his party ticket from top to bottom, no matter who is on the ticket or what the party stands for, may put himself in the power of those who hinder the public

welfare. The bosses who seek to control party affairs know just where he is going with his vote, and they make their plans accordingly. A party, of course, is only a means for putting into effect those political opinions that we are *most* concerned about; and in order to have a party at all we must give up some of our opinions. *But a man who surrenders all of his principles to a party makes himself an obstacle to good government.* The independent voter who usually acts with a party, but who may split with it if it ceases altogether to represent his views, casts a ballot that has much more significance than the ballot of a man of no party or a hidebound partisan.

National parties and local elections. Where candidates are nominated by the national parties for city and county offices, many members of each party are likely to vote for party candidates without regard to their fitness for the local positions. This brings unworthy men into local offices and enables bosses to use those offices in building up a personal organization or machine.

It should be perfectly clear that the issues of national politics are not the same as those of local politics. The foreign policy of the United States, the army and navy, and the regulation of interstate commerce present very different problems from those relating to the prevention of fires, the paving of streets, and the digging of sewers. Men may agree on one set of problems and differ violently on the other, and *no good purpose is served by allowing national-party politics to confuse local issues.* Happily,

CITY OF LAWRENCE.

List of Candidates to be voted for at Municipal Election,
December 14th, 1920.

SPECIMEN BALLOT

Penalty for Wilfully Defacing, Tearing Down, Removing or Destroying a List of Candidates or a Specimen Ballot—Fine Not Exceeding One Hundred Dollars.



CITY CLERK

To Vote for a Person Mark a Cross X in the Square at the Right of Name.		To Vote for a Person Mark a Cross X in the Square at the Right of Name.	
FOR ALDERMAN TO BE DIRECTOR OF DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC PROPERTY. (Two Year Term). VOTE FOR ONE		FOR SCHOOL COMMITTEE. (Two Year Term). VOTE FOR TWO	
JOHN A. FLANAGAN, 4 Savings Yr		THOMAS F. GREENE, 3 Newhall St	
MICHAEL F. SCANLON, 27 Allen St		DANIEL H. KELLEHER, 1 Back St	
		DANIEL F. MALONEY, 20 Auburn St	
		WALTER T. ROCHEFORT, 25 Superior St	
FOR ALDERMAN TO BE DIRECTOR OF DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH AND CHARITIES. (Two Year Term). VOTE FOR ONE		To Vote On the Following Questions Mark a Cross X in the Square at the Right of "Yes" or "No"	
EDWARD C. CALLAHAN, 100 Superior St		"Shall Licenses be granted for the sale of certain non-intoxicating beverages in this city?"	
WILLIAM H. D. VOSE, 141 Parker St		Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	
		No <input type="checkbox"/>	
		"Shall Licenses be Granted for the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors in this City?"	
		Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	
		No <input type="checkbox"/>	
		Shall Chapter 240, Acts of 1920, entitled, "An Act To Permit, Under Public Regulation and Control, Certain Sports and Games on The Lord's Day," be accepted?	
		Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	
		No <input type="checkbox"/>	
		Shall Chapter 613, Acts of 1920, entitled, "An Act to Establish a State Boxing Commission to Serve in The Department of Public Safety," be accepted?	
		Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	
		No <input type="checkbox"/>	

FIG. 45. Section of a non-partisan ballot. To vote on such a ballot, the elector must find out beforehand something about the candidates.

non-partisan nominations and elections, in which the party of the candidate is not shown on the ballot, are becoming more and more common in local government (Fig. 45).

QUESTIONS

Name as many as you can of the political parties that have existed in this country. What is a political party? What is a political machine? What is a party boss? Why are parties necessary? How many great parties are there in the United States? Why is that a good thing? What is the proper attitude of a good citizen toward parties? What is meant by "hidebound partisanship"? What is the result of interference by national parties in local affairs?

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

The history of any of the American parties, whether or not still existing; English parties; French parties. Methods of party organization; campaign methods; corrupt-practices acts, especially those of the United States and your own state. A few suggested references are RAY, P. O., *Introduction to Political Parties and Practical Politics*; JOHNSTON, ALEXANDER, *American Politics*; JONES, C. L., *Readings on Parties and Elections*; FORD, H. J., *The Rise and Growth of American Politics*; BRYCE, JAMES, *The American Commonwealth*; LOWELL, A. L., *The Government of England* (on English parties); SAIT, E. M., *Government and Politics of France*. See also REED, T. H., *Form and Functions of American Government*, in which Chapters 5, 6, and 8 contain extensive lists of references.

CIVIC ACTIVITIES

Study the platforms of the several parties in the last national election and recent state or local platforms, if obtainable. Such study will be helpful in leading up to the drafting of a local platform or program by the organized class. The platform may be very brief and simple, but it should cover the principal points of community betterment which will form the subject of the lessons in Part 3.

CHAPTER TWELVE

NOMINATIONS

Caucuses and conventions. At an election the voter is practically obliged to make his choice between the candidates whose names appear on the ballot. He may, it is true, write in any other name in a blank space provided for that purpose; but it is almost impossible to elect any one by this means. It is of the utmost importance, therefore, that we consider *how the names of candidates get on the ballot*.

A few years ago all parties nominated their candidates by what is usually called the *convention system*. The voters of each party met in ward or town or precinct *caucuses* or *primaries* and elected delegates to city, county, or congressional district conventions. These caucuses and conventions nominated candidates for city and county offices, for the state legislature, and even for the national House of Representatives. The county or the congressional-district conventions elected delegates to a state convention, and the state convention did the same for the national convention. [Two delegates to Republican conventions were elected by each congressional-district convention.] This method of nomination still prevails in several states (Fig. 46).

The direct primary. In a majority of the states the convention system has been abandoned, and the *direct-primary system* has been substituted. Conventions failed really to represent the voters of each party because the caucuses were poorly attended and unfairly conducted. The direct primary works like

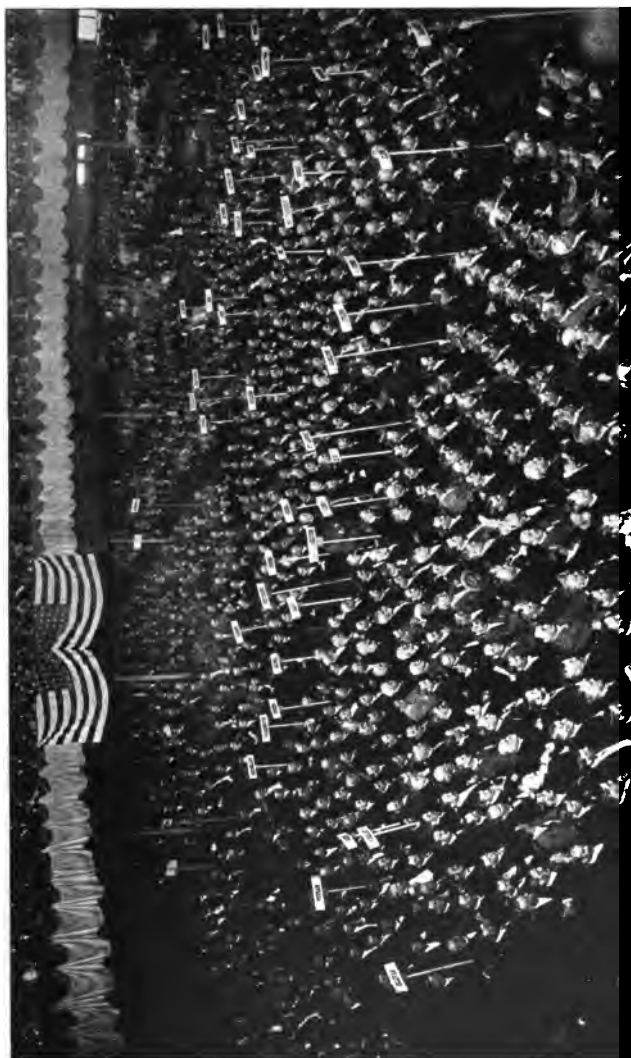


FIG. 46. A typical state convention. The delegates are seated by counties, as indicated by the signs.

this: A substantial citizen, John Jones, desires to become democratic candidate for governor. He must first secure the signatures of a specified number of Democrats (usually a small per cent of the party's vote for governor at the last election) to a petition proposing him for nomination. He files this petition with the secretary of state a fixed length of time before the primary. His rivals within the Democratic party must follow the same procedure, and so must those desiring the Republican or other nomination, each, of course, securing signatures of men of his own party. The ballots are then prepared for the primary of each party. Jones thereafter carries on a campaign among his fellow Democrats to secure their votes (Fig. 47).

The primaries of all parties are generally held on the same day. As each voter presents himself at the polling place, he is given the primary ballot of his party. In some states he must, when registering, have declared his party preference, if he is to be regarded as a member of that party at the primary. In others he may declare his party at the primary polls. *The primary is conducted almost exactly like an election*, and the same provisions against dishonesty are in force. The ballots of each party are put in a separate box and are counted separately. If John Jones has more votes throughout the state than any other Democratic aspirant for governor, his name is placed on the ballot at the state election as that party's candidate.

If you ask Mr. Jones what has particularly im-

OFFICIAL BALLOT FOR THE
PRIMARY ELECTION OF THE
REPUBLICAN PARTY.
WESTCHESTER COUNTY,
SEPTEMBER 14, 1920



SECOND ASSEMBLY DISTRICT
TOWN OF
BEFORD
FIRST ELECTION DISTRICT

CANDIDATES FOR NOMINATION FOR PUBLIC OFFICE		CANDIDATES FOR NOMINATION FOR PUBLIC OFFICE	
GOVERNOR (Vote for one)		JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT (Vote for three)	
1	NATHAN L. MILLER	19	JOSEPH WORSCHAUER
2	GEORGE F. THOMPSON	20	MAAC W. HILLS
		21	ARTHUR S. TOMPEINE
LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR (Vote for one)			
3	JEREMIAH WOOD		
4	WILLIAM M. KENNEDY		
SECRETARY OF STATE (Vote for one)		REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS (Vote for one)	
5	JOHN J. LYONS	22	JAMES W. HUSTED
6	ROBERT E. LAWSON	STATE SENATOR (Vote for one)	
		23	GEORGE T. SWALLING
COMPTROLLER (Vote for one)		MEMBER OF ASSEMBLY (Vote for one)	
7	JAMES A. WHEELER	24	WALTER W. WHEELER
8	WALTER WORTH		

FIG. 47. A direct-primary ballot. On this ballot Republican voters expressed their choice of the persons to become candidates of their party. Note the similarity to the Massachusetts final-election ballot (Fig. 41). Note also that for each of several offices there was only one candidate.

pressed him in his campaign for the nomination, he will, if he is quite frank, speak of the hard work and the *expense* of it. This indicates the weakness of the direct primary, at least for state offices; the expense of a campaign makes it very difficult for a poor man to be nominated.

Importance of the primary. No primary system furnishes any guarantee that nominations will be wisely or even honestly made. There is a great tendency on the part of the thoughtless citizen to forget all about the primary. He will go shooting, fishing, on a business trip, or, as is even more com-

mon, just go about his ordinary work or play and neglect the primary. The result is that incompetent, unrepresentative, or even corrupt men receive nominations. Of course, as is often the case, if no good candidates have sought to have their names placed on the primary ballots, the case is hopeless anyway.

If there is indifference about *voting at primaries*, there is far more indifference about *getting good candidates to run for nomination at the primaries*. An active citizen's duty requires his interest in both these matters. He ought even to be willing to become a candidate himself, if necessary. *The final election is only the third line of defense*. The first and second line trenches are the petition and primary election stages. It would be a bad general who would give the enemy his first two lines of defense and try only to hold them at the third.

QUESTIONS

Describe the convention system. What was its weakness? What is the direct primary? Trace the steps by which a nomination is secured. What criticism can be made of the system? Do you think that this matter could be remedied? What is meant by "non-partisan nominations"? Illustrate the importance of not forgetting the primary.

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

The history of nomination methods in this country is told with many references in REED, T. H., *Form and Functions of American Government*, Chapter 7. See especially MERRIAM, C. E., *Primary Elections*.

CIVIC ACTIVITIES

A debate on the relative merits of the convention and direct-primary systems of nominating.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

ESTIMATING CANDIDATES

Getting information about candidates. As the first step toward right voting, we must try to find out all we can about the fitness of the candidates and about the issues for which they stand. In some cases the question of *personal fitness* will be uppermost; in other cases the *political principles* of candidates should be the subject of especially careful inquiry.

In national campaigns there are available as sources of information, first of all, the party platforms. Then there are the speeches of acceptance made by the candidates for President when they are officially notified of their nomination. These are always published in full in all the principal newspapers. The newspapers report not only the speeches of candidates, but also those of their principal supporters, and they publish a great deal of other matter concerning the issues of the campaign.

Unfortunately, newspapers are not always wholly reliable. One expects to find the views of the publisher expressed in the editorial columns; but too often the publisher's special policy leads to the perversion and even to the suppression of news. It is only by reading two or more newspapers whose interests differ that you can arrive at the truth in many matters. It is much the same with the great weekly and monthly magazines.

Using the Congressional Record and other documents. You can learn from the Congressional Record just how each Senator or Representative

Congressional Record.

 SIXTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION.

Vol. 61.

WASHINGTON, SATURDAY, JULY 9, 1921.

No. 71.

SENATE.

Saturday, July 9, 1921.

The Senate was not in session to-day. Its next meeting will be held Monday, July 11, 1921, at 12 o'clock meridian.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Saturday, July 9, 1921.

The House was called to order at 11 o'clock a. m. by Mr. WALTON as Speaker pro tempore.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Our Heavenly Father, Thou art the creator of the morning light and our divine guardian through the still watches of the night season. Therefore we pause at the threshold of our labors to give Thee praise. Thy providences are so generous in the ministrations of their love. We thank Thee for Thy will con-

dependent of one of the elected officers of the House. Apparently the precedents are that the practice has been to pay a year's salary to the widow or dependents of clerks at the death, including the Official Reporters of the House. The precedents are not numerous. The last time an officer or clerk at the desk died was in 1887. A reading clerk died and the House proceeded to pay the widow of the reading clerk one year's salary. Prior to that time Mr. Blatch, one of the Official Reporters of the House, died, and the Committee on Accounts did not recommend a year's salary, but the House increased the amount and paid a year's salary to the widow of the reporter. Again, when Mr. McElhenny, one of the Official Reporters, died, the Committee on Accounts recommended that his widow be paid one year's salary, and the House so voted, and he was so paid.

I brought Herman Phillips here to the House nearly 34 years ago as assistant Journal clerk. Shortly afterwards he became Journal clerk of the House. From then on he was Journal clerk during all of the time except when the Democratic side of the House was in control of the House. He had a long and

FIG. 48. The Congressional Record contains a full report of every speech made in either house of Congress; also the vote of each member on all roll-call votes. One fifth of the members present may demand a roll-call vote.

voted on various measures. You can obtain from the secretary of state or the clerk of the senate or house of representatives of your state legislature copies of the journal of that body and find there the vote of every member on every bill. Where a candidate has not served in Congress or the state legislature, you can make inquiries concerning his past record; but you should be careful to hear from both his friends and his opponents so that you may *not be governed by biased information*. In city elections you can depend to some extent on published reports of the city government. In some states and cities there are good-government organizations which give out information and make recommendations. These are of great assistance.

The short-ballot movement. The very large number of candidates makes it difficult to find out as

much as we should about them. There are usually several candidates for each office, and there are many offices to be filled by election. Not only are the important offices elective, as the offices of President, governor, or members of Congress, in filling which the people are deeply interested, but a great number of lesser offices, about which people ordinarily give themselves little concern, are elective. *If the higher*



FIG. 49. This ballot from a Middle Western state has six party columns and an additional column for independent voting. It requires the elector's decision on filling 34 offices, from United States President to township assessor.

BALLOT PAPER

1	NETTLEFOLD. (John Sutton Nettlefold, Winter- bourn, Edgbaston Park Road, Edgbaston, Gentleman.)	
2	TUNBRIDGE. (William Stephen Tunbridge, Rocklands, Woodbourne Road, Edgbaston, Solicitor.)	

FIG. 50. The official ballot used in an English city election. The elector was required to choose a person to fill a single office, councilor from his ward. He had the opportunity of making an intelligent choice.

officials only were elected, and if these officials appointed men to the minor positions, the ballot would be much shorter and the citizen could mark it far more intelligently. Such different men as Woodrow Wilson, William H. Taft, and Theodore Roosevelt have urged the necessity of making the voter's task easier by making the ballot shorter. As we study local and state government, we shall come back again and again to the subject of the "short ballot." It is certainly unfortunate to have so many elective offices as to discourage the citizen from trying to find out about the many candidates for them (Figs. 49 and 50).

A candidate's appeal. In considering the merits of any candidate, *you should lay more stress upon his record than upon his promises.* You must always try to find out whether or not he is sincere. This is a

difficult thing to do, because many politicians are as clever as good actors in seeming to be sincere. When a candidate talks almost altogether about his party's history or points with pride to the achievements of Thomas Jefferson or Abraham Lincoln, it is probably because he has very little to say for himself. *When a candidate appeals to sentiment and prejudice rather than to reason, you may well distrust him as a demagogue.*

What constitutes a good representative. A representative should be a person of *reputable private life*, with a clear record for sobriety and honesty. He should, other things being equal, have an *education* superior to the average in the community. On the other hand, he should not be removed by any personal advantage that he may possess from a *true sympathy with the people*. Social position, wealth, and education do not necessarily remove a man from such sympathy, but they sometimes do.

A representative should be a man of some *force and personality*, able to impress his ideas on others. Without these qualities he may be an honest and intelligent representative, but he will not be a very effective one. He must have courage, particularly *moral and intellectual courage*. He should not merely reflect the wishes of his constituents; he should use his best judgment for the benefit of all. He should *not be an extremist* or a person given to fads or notions, but he should be *open-minded* and ready to lead in securing the adoption of new ideas that are worth while.

Finally, a representative should be a man who has *not been intimately associated with any corrupt political machine*. Such political machines have often made use of men of reputable life, good ability, and fine reputation, upon whom they had some secret hold or upon whom they could for some reason depend to serve their ends—an arrangement that suggests the fable of the wolf that wore the coat of a sheep.

QUESTIONS

What is the proper attitude toward party? How can we obtain information about candidates? Why must we be on our guard with reference to newspapers? How can we use the Congressional Record? the journal of the state legislature? What is the short-ballot movement? Why should we distrust candidates' promises? What qualities must a good representative have? What qualities must he not have?

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

The character of any truly great American politician will, if analyzed, illustrate and enforce the truths brought out in the text. Different students may each be asked to describe an ideal representative by making a composite list of the outstanding characteristics of two such contrasting personages as Hamilton and Jefferson, John Quincy Adams and Jackson, or Clay and Webster. These composite characters, as "Alexander Jefferson" and "John Quincy Jackson," may afterward be placed in nomination at a mock national convention.

The short-ballot movement is a splendid topic. Write the National Municipal League, 261 Broadway, New York City, for information. See also REED, T. H., *Government for the People*, pages 95-107; and CHILDS, R. S., *Short-Ballot Principles*.

CIVIC ACTIVITIES

Let the class assume the rôle of the city or county central committee of a good-government candidate for mayor, district attorney, or other office. The class may prepare a campaign speech or circular for general distribution, telling what kind of representative the candidate would make.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE CITIZEN AS LAWMAKER

Voting directly on propositions. The citizen not only has to select representatives, but also, with increasing frequency, he has to vote "Yes" or "No" directly on proposed measures. Changes in state constitutions are practically always passed upon by the people. Amendments to city charters, propositions to borrow money by the sale of bonds, and other matters in many cases have to be ratified by popular vote. Furthermore, in several states and many cities the people possess the power of *initiative* and *referendum*.

By "*initiative*" is meant the power of proposing laws by petition. A constitutional amendment, a law, an ordinance, or a charter change is proposed by some individual or committee. If a certain specified number of voters attach their names to the proposition, it is submitted at an ensuing election. If a majority is in favor of the measure, it becomes law.

By "*referendum*" is meant the submission to the people of a matter that has already been enacted as law. The referendum is instituted by petition. Where the right of referendum exists, the operation of all measures except "emergency" measures is suspended from thirty to ninety days to allow those opposed to it to circulate petitions. If enough signatures are secured, the measure remains suspended and is placed on the ballot at the next election. We speak of the use of the initiative and referendum as *direct legislation*.



FIG. 51. The citizen rulers of ancient Athens listening to their great statesman Pericles, who led them through the power of persuasion.

Legislation by the people themselves is the distinctive feature in *direct democracy* as contrasted with *representative democracy*. The ancient Athenian citizens, when they met in a single body and made their laws, were practicing direct democracy, and the citizens of some New England towns are still doing this in local affairs (Fig. 51). Our republic is a representative democracy. The vastness of modern populations has compelled the resort to legislation through representatives. However, through the devices of the initiative and the referendum there has been a return in recent years, in some measure, to direct democracy.

Serious business for the voter. In many states, voting on propositions has become a very serious

part of the citizen's business. For example, in December, 1914, the people of California voted on forty-eight questions. The text of the propositions and arguments for and against them, which the law required to be placed in the hands of each voter,

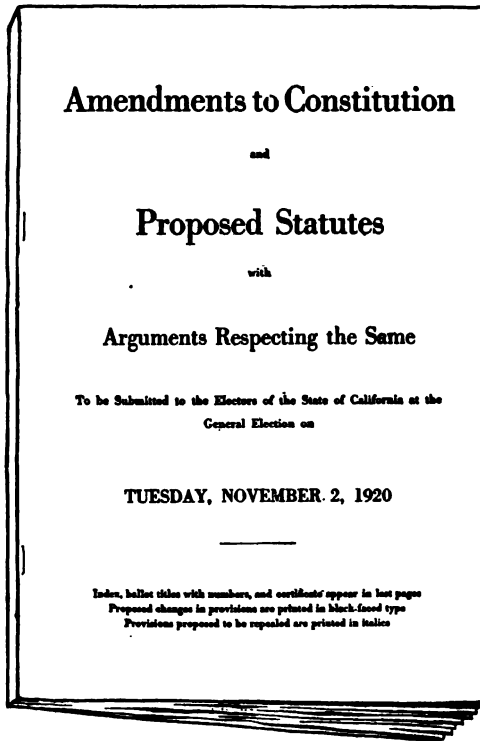


FIG. 52. A booklet like this is sent to every voter in California before each state election. It gives all propositions to be voted upon, together with arguments for and against them. This particular book contained 64 pages, 58 of these being double-column pages of small type.

amounted to a volume of 112 large, closely printed, two-column pages containing over 175,000 words—nearly twice as many as in this book. This is an extreme example, but voting on propositions is common in many states and the custom is spreading to others.

Advantages and disadvantages of the initiative and referendum. In voting on propositions the voter has the advantage of being able to study each question at his leisure, beforehand. Yet many of the measures submitted are long, complicated, and difficult to understand. They are, of course, always the work of an individual or a committee, who may make mistakes. The purpose of a law may be admirable, and yet the law itself may be very bad. There is, of course, no opportunity for amendment. We can only say "Yes" or "No" to what is put before us. On the other hand, the initiative with the referendum *gives the people a check on their elected representatives* which may prove very valuable.

Deciding how to vote. In many localities civic organizations appoint committees to study propositions submitted and to make recommendations. Sometimes they invite men of ability and repute to describe the measures and instruct the people concerning their effect. Joint debates, too, are often held. If election day finds a voter still in doubt on any proposition, he will usually vote "No." Bad laws have such a serious and lasting effect that *it is best not to adopt a new law until you are sure that it is a good one.*

A word of caution about signing petitions. Many voters will sign a petition just to avoid being bothered further by the persons circulating it. They sign without much thought as to what they are signing. Sometimes the circulator gets ten cents for every name signed, and people will sign just to help him out. In this way many measures that do not deserve it get a place on the ballot. Such unworthy measures lengthen the ballot, to the confusion of the voters, and are a hindrance to good government. *The citizen should be as careful with his signature as with his vote.*

QUESTIONS

What kind of measures do the people have to vote on in your state? What is meant by the "initiative"? by the "referendum"? How may voting on propositions become a burden to voters? What danger may there be in proposed laws whose purpose is good? How can the voters be instructed on propositions submitted? What is the duty of the good citizen with regard to petitions?

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

The initiative and referendum provisions of your own state constitution or city charter, and what has been accomplished under them. See REED, T. H., *Functions of American Government*, pages 143-152, especially references on page 151.

CIVIC ACTIVITIES

In the class, discuss and vote on some proposition recently submitted to the people of your state or locality, or about to be submitted to them.

Draw up a measure you would like to see adopted as a school policy. Prepare and circulate a petition in accordance with your state law or city ordinance, getting signatures among your fellow students. Then file the petition with the proper school authorities. (Remember that your petition has no legal effect.)



PART THREE
THE CITIZEN AND THE LOCAL COMMUNITY
Coöperation and Self-Government

I say the mission of government in civilized lands is not authority alone (not even of law), nor the rule of the best man—but to train communities through all their grades, beginning with individuals and ending there again, to rule themselves.

WALT WHITMAN

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

The origin of community life. We have already noted how primitive men got together in little bands for self-protection. They built their huts close together and defended them with rude fortifications, often with palisades. Such were the first villages. Men soon learned that these villages served other purposes, as well as their original one of affording protection. They permitted a higher degree of co-operation. Division of labor was carried further than it could have been among wandering men or cave dwellers, and life was enriched through increased association.

The growth of cities. As villages grew in population, they became better places in which to live and work; neighborhood barter developed into trade with other villages, and the matter of getting an adequate and steady supply of food became a more and more complex problem. To grow, any place must have an increasing market for its products and an increasing supply of food from outside its limits. The extent of the area in which it can sell its goods and buy its food depends on means of transportation. We need not be surprised, therefore, to find that *the greatest cities are those most favorably situated with regard to transportation.*

In the last hundred years, three factors have united to promote the growth of cities, to an extent unthought of in earlier times. Marvelous *inventions* have made the industries of cities a hundred-fold

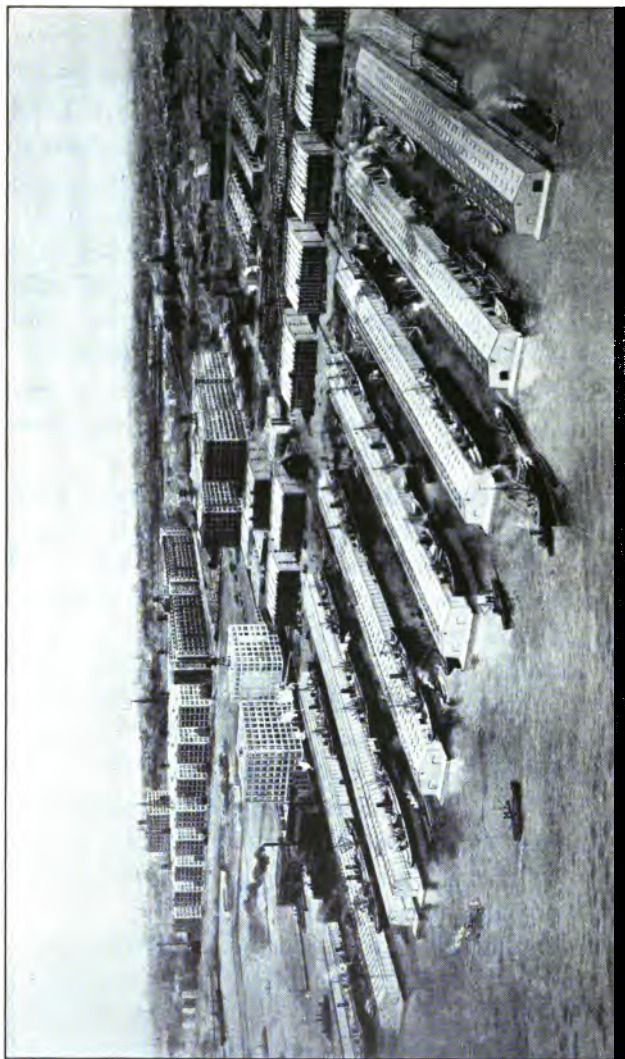


FIG. 53. The Bush Terminal Docks in Brooklyn. At such docks freight is loaded directly from cars for all parts of the world, and the cargoes of incoming ships are transferred to cars or other ships.

more productive; *improvements in agricultural methods and machinery* now enable one man to do what forty men could barely do in 1750; *the steam railroad and the steamship* have given every city a world market and have brought to it the foodstuffs of the world (Fig. 53).

New York an example. In 1664, when the English first captured New Amsterdam, the town occupied only the southernmost portion of the island of Manhattan. Its most important trade was with the Indians and with the Netherlands, furs being exchanged for trinkets and firearms. As the country along the Hudson and on Long Island filled up with farmer settlers, the population of the city slowly increased. Its merchants sold the manufactured goods of Europe to the settlers, buying in turn the products of their clearings. New York City, however, did not much surpass Philadelphia and Boston until the construction of the Erie Canal brought the products of western New York, Ohio, and the country about the Great Lakes to its doors.

The full effect of the canal had hardly been felt before railroad building made New York's magnificent harbor *the port* of the whole country. Fast as the United States has grown, New York has grown faster. Not only is it now the largest city in our country, but it disputes with London the right to be considered the largest city in the world. At its docks the contents of freight cars are endlessly stowed into the holds of great steamers, and the cargoes of unloading steamers are packed into cars. Hun-

*New York Historical Society*

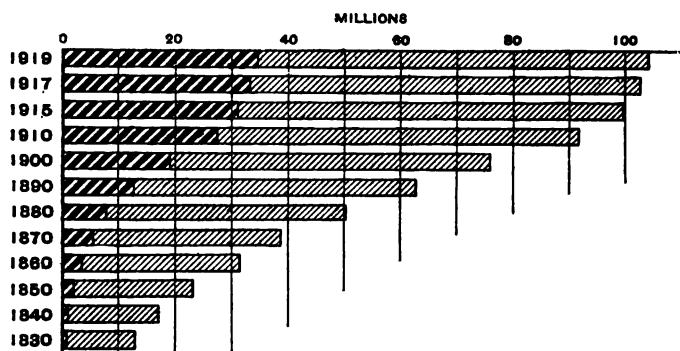
FIG. 54. New York dock in 1679. London and Paris were many centuries old when New York had its beginnings. Compare Figures 53 and 72.

dreds of thousands of its people are engaged directly or indirectly in the exchange and transportation of goods. Other hundreds of thousands are engaged in manufactures.

City growth in the United States. In 1830 there were only six cities in the United States with populations of more than 30,000. All together they held not quite four per cent of the total population of the country. In 1919 over 33 per cent of our people lived in 227 places of more than 30,000. In 1790 the largest city was New York, with 33,131 people. Philadelphia, with 28,522, had only recently lost first place. In 1920 New York had 5,621,151 people, and there were eleven other cities of more than half a million. The United States has become a land

of cities, and the massing of people has created tremendous problems (Fig. 55).

How communities develop. Every community has had its first settlers. Perhaps the very first one came trudging in with a pack on his back and an ax on his shoulder and pitched his camp on the bank of a stream. Soon the chips were flying and a log cabin rose under the shadow of the forest. Then a second traveler settled close by for company. Another and another followed, usually with wife and children. A grist mill was built, and a general store was opened. About this time the settlers awoke to the fact that they were a community. The first thing that suggested the fact to them was the need for a school for their children. They held a meeting in the loft above the store and agreed to build a school and employ a teacher. On a day appointed they came with their



U. S. Bureau of Census

FIG. 55. How population in cities of the United States having 30,000 or more inhabitants compared with population outside such cities, from 1830 to 1919. The heavily shaded part of each line indicates the city population.

tools and oxen and "raised" a log schoolhouse. Then they sent to the older settlements and secured a teacher. The teacher boarded around among the parents, and at the end of a period of service the settlers turned over to some one of their number their shares of the teacher's salary. After a while, under the laws of a state or a territory, the people organized a school district. As the people grew in numbers, they found that they needed a constable, and then streets and sidewalks, lights on the corners, and rules for the keeping of cows and pigs behind fences.

The first settler was self-sufficient. He needed little besides his keen ax and the strength of his arms. The growing group of settlers needed something more, and that was *the means for community action—coöperation*. Under the laws of every state or territory some means is provided for satisfying this need: *town government* in New England, *county government* in the far West and South, and *township or village and county government* in most other parts of the country. If these methods of local organization had not been provided, the community would have had to find its own. The state or territorial government organized the county as a unit, primarily as a means of enforcing its laws and preserving order. But among other things, the county made it possible for the several communities to build and maintain the connecting roads that they needed so badly.

As a town or village grows, its needs expand to include sewers, paving, a public library, parks, fire



U. S. Geological Survey

FIG. 56. A pioneer community at Valdez, Alaska. Such scenes have marked the settlement of America from Jamestown and Plymouth to Seattle and Cape Nome.

protection, and a real police department to replace the constable; indeed, its wants seem endless, never satisfied, and always increasing. It must have greater powers, and it is *incorporated as a city*.

Community spirit. The steps in the founding and growth of a community were never followed exactly as we have described. But they have been followed, in substance, thousands of times in the history of our country. Our account indicates how community needs grow and how community government must be created and extended to satisfy them. Through all the changes that we imagined, from settlement to city, there never ceased to be a true community. There continued to be common needs that had to be met through the joint action of the people. The

complex problems of the city were just as real as were the simple problems of the early settlers, and their solution called for a spirit of coöperation just as truly as did the raising of that first log school-house. *The community spirit—a common purpose to further the public welfare—is the quality essential to successful community life.*

In a growing community there are often forces that tend to weaken community spirit. Perhaps a new factory brings in a force of foreign workers. These, while they remain un-Americanized, may fail to get together in spirit with the older population. As group of immigrants follows group,—Italians, Slavs, Jews, and Syrians,—each as different from the others as from the original American stock, the maintenance of common ideals among the whole people becomes more difficult. Then, too, as cities grow, the extremes of wealth and poverty tend to stand out more and more. Class feeling, strikes, and all sorts of misunderstandings often develop. The community suffers because its community spirit is weakened. Under such circumstances community spirit must be deliberately cultivated by every means in our power.

QUESTIONS

What are some of the benefits of community life? What are some of the causes of the growth of cities? Which do you think most important? Why? How is this illustrated in the case of New York City? How many cities in the United States had over 30,000 people in 1790? What was the largest city? What was its population? How large was New York City in 1920? What proportion of the total population of the United States lived in cities of over 30,000

in 1830? in 1919? How do communities grow? What manner of beginning a community, other than the one indicated in the text, can you imagine? What is the prime essential of community life? How may Americanization work promote this essential thing?

TOPIC FOR INVESTIGATION

The origin and development of your own community, with special reference to examples of community coöperation.

CIVIC ACTIVITIES

The class organization can begin the discussion of community needs with a view to singling out one need that it can and will do something about.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

CITY GOVERNMENT

The city. There are cynical people who will tell you that the city is hopelessly corrupt and that the best you can do is to let city politics alone. Do not believe them. They are willing to enjoy all the advantages of city life and then slander the source of those advantages. There is much, even in the worst city, to admire if one has eyes that can see what is good. At any rate, for all the advantages that *your* city gives you, it is entitled to your gratitude and service. You should be concerned about its faults chiefly with a view to helping remedy them.

The Ephebic oath. A high ideal of citizenship was attained in ancient Athens. There, every eligible youth of eighteen entered the Ephebia or military college for two years of training. But first he took a splendid oath of allegiance to his city. You can do no better for your city than firmly to resolve, in the manner of the Ephebi,—

“To bring no disgrace to the city by dishonest act. To fight for the ideals and sacred things, alone and with many. To desert no faltering comrade. To revere and obey the laws, and to incite reverence and respect in those above us who are prone to annul or set them at naught. To strive unceasingly to quicken the public sense of civic duty. To transmit this city not less but better and more beautiful than it was transmitted to us.”

The city as a business corporation. The city is a corporation—what lawyers sometimes call “an arti-



Pell and Corbett, Architects

FIG. 57. The group of municipal buildings in Court Square, Springfield, Massachusetts. To the left of the bell and clock tower (campanile) is the auditorium; to the right is the administration building.

ficial person"; the state has given it the power to own property, to sue and be sued, and not only to govern within its boundaries but to engage in many business undertakings for the benefit of its people. *Judged by the services it renders, it is little other than a business corporation.* Paving streets; digging sewers; establishing and maintaining parks, playgrounds, and public baths; and providing water, light, heat, and transportation for its people generally are essentially business tasks. Also, in strictly governmental matters such as the police and fire departments, the actual work of management is much like that in a private business.

Legislation and administration in city government. In every government and in every business a distinction is drawn between *deciding what to do* and *doing it*. In government, deciding what to do is *legislation*, and doing it is *administration*.

In our state and national governments, legislation includes the making of many decisions of great and lasting importance regarding such matters as the relations of capital and labor, divorce, damages for personal injuries, and the conduct of interstate commerce and banking. In city government, legislation requires decisions on such questions as these: "Shall we build this bridge, sewer, or street? Shall we buy this park, establish this public bath, or found that playground? How much money shall we spend on police or fire protection, on cleaning the streets, and on the public-health service?" *The importance of administration, as compared with legislation, is much*

greater in city government than in national or state government.

Legislation—the power of decision—should be in the hands of the people or their representatives. That is the essence of democracy. In a city government there should be several legislators—enough so that they may deliberate over the questions they have to decide. There should not, however, be so many as to make discussion difficult. There should be among them at least some representative of every important group of people in the community.

But administration—carrying out the decisions of the people—should be intrusted to men of executive ability and special training regardless of political consideration, for the more expert an executive is, the better the wishes of the people will be carried out. In a city, for example, if a man is to be in charge of a department of public works, it does not make any difference whether he is a Republican or a Democrat, a single-taxer or a municipal-ownership enthusiast. He may be as he pleases, provided he is a competent engineer and a capable executive—the best-qualified man obtainable for the place. Good executives, however, are hard to get by election, especially to fill municipal offices.

Forms of city government. There are three forms of city government, which with variations are in general use in our country. These city governments are by (1) *mayor and council*, (2) *commission* (3) *manager* (Fig. 58).

Under government by *mayor and council* legislation

is usually in the hands of a single, fairly numerous body or council, subject to a veto by the mayor. Executive power is in the hands of the mayor. He is elected by the people and holds office usually for a term of two or four years. Sometimes there are elective executive officers besides the mayor, each of whom exercises independently a part of the executive power.

Under the *commission plan* of city government all power, both legislative and executive, is in the hands of a commission, usually of five men, elected at large. For executive purposes each member is given immediate charge of a department or a group of departments. The commissioners receive salaries and usually give practically all their time to the work.

Under the *city-manager plan* legislation is intrusted to a small council whose members receive little or no salary, while executive authority is exercised by a manager appointed by the council and removable by them at any time. He receives a fairly large salary and devotes all his time to the city's business.

QUESTIONS

Is it right to live in a city and keep out of its affairs? How does the dictionary define the word "politics"? In what respects may a city government be regarded as a business enterprise? What is the distinction between legislation and administration? Wherein are the problems of state and national government different from those of city government? In which of these is administration relatively more important than legislation? What are the qualities of a good lawmaker? of a good executive? Can good city executives usually be chosen by popular election? Should executive power be given to a body or to an individual? What are the chief characteristics of mayor and council government? of commission government? of manager government?

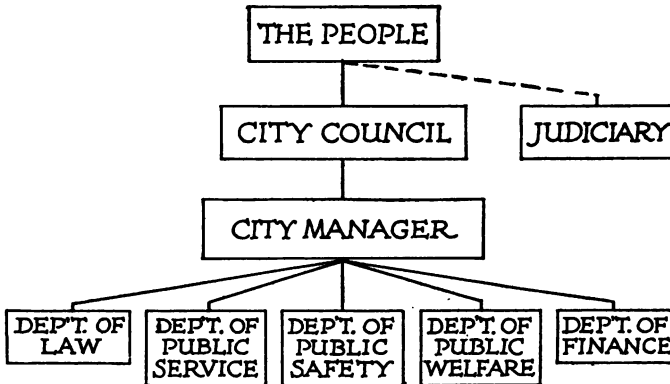
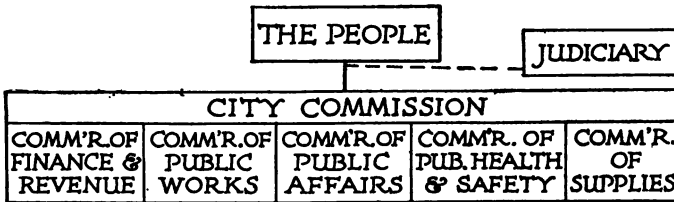
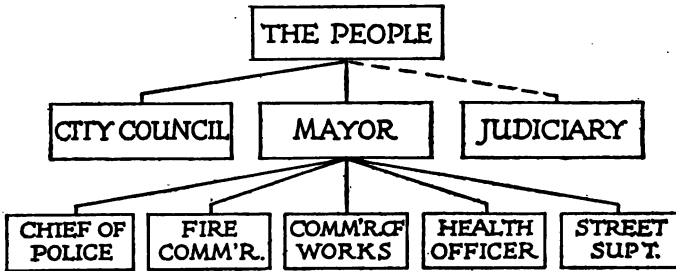


FIG. 58. City organization under the mayor and council, the commission, and the city-manager plans.

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

Details of the government of your own city (in a country school, of your nearest city) should be investigated and made the subject of reports in class. There should be a report on the charter of your city or on the municipal-corporations act of your state. Members of the class might well interview city officials. For this purpose they should have letters of introduction from the teacher. They should state their business briefly and clearly, take notes, and not stay too long.

The mayor and council form of city government; the commission form; the manager form. See BEARD, C. A., *American City Government* and *Digest of Short Ballot Charters*; *The City Manager Plan* (published by the Short Ballot Organization, New York City); Debaters' Handbook Series, *The City Manager Plan*; REED, T. H., *Form and Functions of American Government*, Chapter 16; and recent magazine articles.

CIVIC ACTIVITIES

A debate on the proposition: *Resolved*, That the manager form of government is best suited to the conditions of American cities.

The organized class may test the relative merits of committee and single-head management by applying them in different matters that it may be interested in.

A talk by the mayor or some other city official will be helpful.

If possible, arrangements should be made to have the class as a whole attend a meeting of the city council.

The class may perhaps desire to take the Ephebic oath.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

TOWN AND TOWNSHIP GOVERNMENT

The town or township. The early settlements in New England were usually made by groups of settlers, each group already organized as a church and going in a body to occupy lands that had been granted it. All New England thus came to be a patchwork of *irregularly shaped towns of varying area and population*. But west of the Alleghenies, Congress divided the country into townships, every one six miles square and with boundaries running always north, south, east, and west. These *Congressional townships* did not correspond at all with the natural lay of the land, and this fact kept them from developing a really vigorous community life.

The New England town. The New England settlers were very independent people, who governed themselves in a town meeting of all the voters. They had no very clear idea of any limits to their authority, and they attended to matters as varied as buying a dress for a poor widow and defying the king. The town meetings were "not only the source but the school of democracy." They are no longer so gloriously independent as in colonial times, but they are even yet the most democratic governments within our country. Many of the larger towns have become cities, so that the towns of the present day are usually small in population; but a surprisingly large number of communities have clung to town government long after becoming big enough to be cities.

The town meeting. The governing authority of



FIG. 59. Scene from the Pilgrim Tercentenary pageant held at Plymouth, Massachusetts. It represents the signing of the Mayflower Compact, which is regarded as the first of written constitutions. It provided for the government of the first New England community.

a New England town, as we have seen, is the town meeting, *an assembly of all the voters*. It is held annually in the town hall, and special town meetings may be held when there is occasion for them. The regular meeting receives the reports of the various officers for the year preceding, passes on their accounts, elects their successors, adopts such by-laws or ordinances as seem necessary, and makes appropriations and levies taxes for the ensuing year. It lasts all day. The morning is usually spent in balloting for officers, and the afternoon is devoted to the discussion of reports which have been previously printed and placed in the hands of the voters, and to other business specified in the "warrant" or call for the town meeting. Generally town meetings are well

attended. Any citizen present is free to speak. There is a good deal of debating, and the discussions are likely to be very intelligent. No better method of controlling the conduct of public servants has ever been discovered.

The principal officers of the town are the *board of selectmen*, who may be said to be the deputies of the town meeting. There are commonly three of them, but sometimes more. They are usually elected for one year and are often reëlected. Between meetings they have authority to do almost anything that the town meeting itself can do, except to levy taxes. Each town has a town clerk who keeps the minutes of the town meeting and all other town records. He is in many cases reëlected year after year. There are also town treasurers, constables, etc. To be thoroughly successful, the town-meeting system requires a population of not more than five or six thousand thoroughly American or Americanized people. A failure in community spirit is even more fatal in its results in a New England town than in a city governed by a representative council.

Township government outside New England. In fifteen states outside New England—New York, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Indiana, Nebraska, Missouri, Kansas, and Oklahoma; also, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Minnesota, Iowa, North Dakota, and South Dakota—townships are organized for general purposes of local self-government. In some of them town meetings are held, although these are by no means as important as in New England.

In the first nine of the fifteen states named, the executive business of the township is in the hands of *a single officer* called a supervisor, trustee, or town chairman. In addition, there is usually an elective township board of three members, which has charge of the financial affairs of the town. In the last *six* states named the principal township authority is a *board of three members* elected by the people. The people in either case usually elect a clerk, assessor, treasurer, justice of the peace, and constable. In the other states of the Union the township is of no practical importance as a unit of government, although it is used as a district of the county for administrative purposes.

QUESTIONS

What constitutes a town in New England? What is a Congressional township? What effect has the Congressional township had on the development of local government west of the Alleghenies? Why is the New England town worth studying? How has it been a school of self-government? What is the board of selectmen? What are the powers of the selectmen? Does the organized township exist outside New England? Is the township used in your state? If so, for what purpose? What are its officers?

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

The New England town meeting. See FISKE, JOHN, *American Political Ideals*; FAIRLIE, J. A., *Local Government in Counties, Towns, and Villages*; MUNRO, W. B., *Government of the United States*; and REED, T. H., *Form and Functions of American Government*, Chapters 17 and 18. Your own town or township should be investigated if it is of any importance as a unit of local government.

CIVIC ACTIVITIES

Turn the class into a miniature town meeting, including in the "warrant," or call for the meeting, questions directly affecting the affairs of the class.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

COUNTY GOVERNMENT

The county. Every state in the United States is divided into *counties*, except Louisiana, where the division corresponding to the county is known as the *parish*. Counties vary greatly in size and population. Outside New England they are the *principal unit of rural local government*, and they are the sole unit where there is no town or township organization. Cities situated within a county are generally independent of its authority. The inhabitants of the city are, however, taxed to maintain the county government, and they take part in electing its officers. The people of cities ordinarily pay little attention to their county government, and machine politicians sometimes take advantage of this circumstance.

The county board. The principal authority in the county is vested in the county board. To the board belongs the duty of making appropriations and levying taxes for the support of the county government; building and maintenance of highways; poor relief; and the conduct of other matters. There are *two main types of county boards*. The first type consists of from three to five (occasionally more) *members elected by districts or by the voters throughout the county as a whole*. With many variations it is found in most of the states. The second type is *a large board made up of supervisors*, one of whom is elected from each town—or ward of a city—within the county. This type of board prevails in New York, New Jersey, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin.



FIG. 60. The courthouse at Williamsburg, Virginia, a typical old Southern county-government building. It was honestly built, according to a simple and dignified plan, in 1769.

Officers. Besides the county board there are numerous other county officers, all of whom are usually elected by the people, once in two or four years. The *judges* are in some states county officers, and the *district* (or *county*) *attorney* almost always is such. The *sheriff* is the head police officer of the county as well as an agent of the courts. He has charge of the county jail and is looked to for the preservation of order and the detection and suppression of crime. The *coroner*, with the assistance of a jury of six men, holds inquests over the bodies of persons who die under circumstances that need to be investigated. The *county clerk* keeps the records of the county, including those of its principal court, and he sometimes has duties in connection with the registering of voters.

The *recorder* or *registrar of deeds* is the officer under whose supervision transfers of real estate are recorded. The *auditor* is the county bookkeeper. The *assessor* estimates the value of property within the county for purposes of taxation. The *tax collector* sees to it that taxes are gathered, and the *treasurer* keeps the county funds. The *surveyor* or *engineer* is in charge of county public works. The *superintendent of schools* is the chief educational officer in the county. This is not a complete list of all the officers elected in counties, but it includes those usually met with.

Criticism of county government. It is in county government that the long ballot has its worst results. Each of the county officers is elected independently of the rest, and the salaries of county officers are in many places fixed by state law, which the county board must obey. *There is no head to county government*, and coöperation among county officers is left to chance. On the whole, it is remarkable that they get along together as well as they do (Fig. 61).

County government has advanced little from the condition in which our forefathers brought it from seventeenth-century England. The scheme was fairly satisfactory under the simple conditions of frontier life, but it is not suited to the needs of modern America. There has been some movement toward a reform of county government, but it has not progressed very far. In a few states, including California, counties are now permitted to adopt charters for themselves. Los Angeles and other California

counties have adopted charters providing for the short ballot and a better-arranged administration.

A unit of state administration. There is another aspect of the county that must be kept in mind. The county exists only partly as a means for giving the people local self-government. It is *mainly a district for the execution of state business*. The judges, prosecuting attorney, and sheriff are almost wholly engaged in the enforcement of state laws. The county

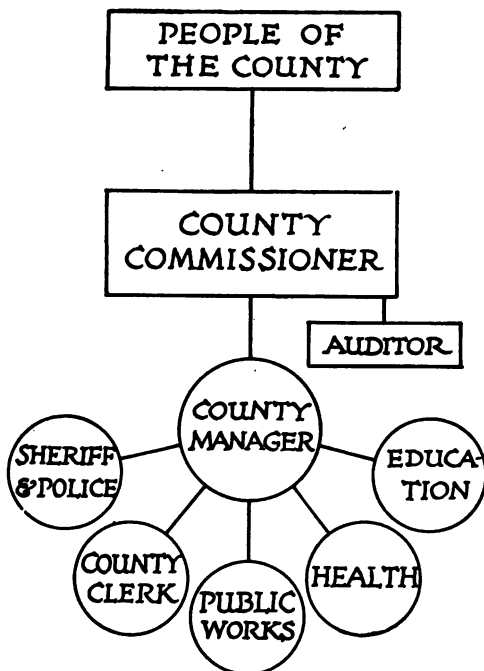


FIG. 61. A suggestion for an effective organization of county government. Try to diagram the actual government of your county, and then compare the organization of your county with the organization suggested in this figure.

clerk is a very important link in the election system of the state. In most states the assessor, tax collector, and treasurer are largely engaged in collecting taxes for the state government. Yet over their conduct *the state has almost no control*. Their only responsibility is toward the people who elect them to office. This makes the enforcement of state laws very difficult, if local public opinion does not favor their enforcement. A county attorney, for example, is likely to prosecute men who sell liquor unlawfully or not to prosecute them, according to the wishes of the people who elected him to office. In a few states the governor has power to remove a sheriff or prosecuting attorney who neglects his duty, but in most states the governor has no power to interfere until circumstances arise that justify the use of the militia.

QUESTIONS

What is a county? How does the presence of cities within a county affect county government? What, in general, are the powers of the county board? What two types of county boards are there? How is the county board made up in your county? Tell what you can of the duties of the sheriff, coroner, recorder, auditor, assessor, treasurer, tax collector, and surveyor. Which of these officers do you have in your county? What other officers does your county have? What defects can you point out in county government? To what extent is the county a unit of state administration? How much control has the state over county officers?

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

The government of your county. County government is nearly as various as city government, and it will be necessary to investigate local details. Each office will furnish a topic. Personal interviews may be used here to great advantage.

Any especially interesting phases of local county history. See FAIRLIE, J. A., *Local Government in Counties, Towns, and Villages*; GILBERTSON, W. S., *County Government*; MUNRO, W. B., *Government of the United States*; REED, T. H., *Form and Functions of American Government*, Chapters 17 and 18.

CIVIC ACTIVITIES

Attend a meeting of the county board. If such a meeting cannot be attended, the prosecuting attorney or some other county official may be invited to talk to the class about county government.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

LOCAL MANAGEMENT OF SCHOOLS

The county and the schools. In most of the states each county has its *superintendent of schools*, who is usually elected by the people. With city schools he has practically nothing to do. It is his business to visit rural schools, to get local authorities to adopt the right methods, and to secure good *teachers*. It is also his duty to see that the laws with regard to school attendance and the course of study are carried out. He has a great deal to do in the collection of statistics, the payment of teachers' salaries, and the apportionment of state and county funds. Once each year he is expected to hold an institute which all teachers are required to attend in order that they may be instructed in the latest educational methods. The position of county superintendent is very laborious and difficult, and it requires a high degree of expert knowledge of schools, never failing tact, and genuine courage.

In some states the county superintendent is assisted by a *county board of education*, among whose duties is the examination of teachers. In a few of the Southern states the county board is really in charge of the schools of the county, but this is not generally the case. In many states the schools are largely supported by taxes levied by the county board and apportioned among the several districts.

School districts: their control. The actual management of school matters is left to the *school district*, except in some of the Southern and Western states

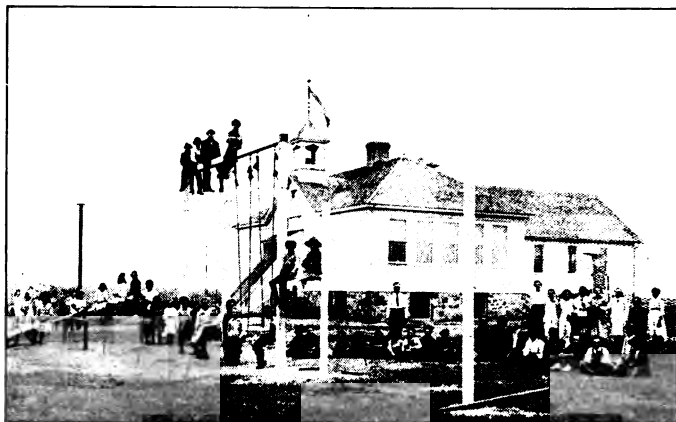


FIG. 62. A rural school. The playground equipment is to be commended, but the building and grounds might well be made more attractive. The pupils here would have a fine opportunity for civic coöperation in improving the appearance of their school.

where it remains in the county. Each city, town, or township usually also constitutes a school district, but as a district it is a separate corporation having its own property and its own officers. The rural district is almost everywhere governed by an unpaid *board of trustees*, usually of three members elected by the people.

In New England and in some other parts of the country, rural and village *schools are grouped into districts*. A joint *school committee* meets once a year, appoints the superintendent of the district, and fixes his salary. In this way one man may superintend the schools of from two to five towns.

The powers of local bodies for the control of schools include the appointment of teachers, provid-

ing school buildings and all their equipment, and levying local taxes for school purposes. In some states such bodies have a measure of control over courses of study and the broader questions of educational policy. In other states the school laws are most minutely detailed and leave little discretion to local school officials.

City control. City school boards or "boards of education" vary much in size, powers, and terms of office of members. New York has a board of seven members, and Chicago a board of twenty-one. The tendency is toward smaller boards, and five members may be safely taken as the typical number. The members are usually elected, but in a few cities they are appointed by the mayor. They seldom receive salaries.



William B. Ittner, Architect

FIG. 63. The McKinley High School, St. Louis, Missouri. An example of modern school architecture of a kind that reflects credit upon a city.

It is the rule for all city boards of education to appoint a city superintendent of schools to whom is intrusted the direct management of the schools. The superintendent is presumably a trained teacher of executive ability who understands educational problems. He is usually given a free hand in the management of the schools, so long as the board of education has confidence in his ability. The board of education rarely interferes in the details of his work.

QUESTIONS

What are the duties of the county superintendent of schools? What is a county board of education? To what unit, in most states, is the local management of schools left? In your state, how is a rural school board made up? a city board? What are the powers and duties of a city superintendent of schools? What is his relation to the board?

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

The management of your own schools; county board, county superintendent, local school board, and school finance. Information can be obtained by personal investigation, interviews, and study of the laws.

CIVIC ACTIVITIES

The opportunities for direct observation are here present to the highest degree. The students will probably want to see the county or city superintendent and perhaps hear him give a talk on school government. They may also want to see the school board in session.

CHAPTER TWENTY

POLICE AND FIRE PROTECTION

The prime function of government. The protection of life and property was the first duty of government, and even now it is its most important duty. Whatever government may or may not do with respect to schools or other matters, it *must preserve order, protect property, and prevent or punish crime*. The rules or laws which are necessary to regulate the conduct of all members of the community are mostly made by the states. The states also provide the system of courts, a large part of whose work consists in the trial of lawbreakers. The immediate task of keeping order, of preventing crime, and of catching criminals is left to the local community. It does this work through a police force.

The need for a police force was made clear by what happened in Boston in September, 1919, when the greater part of the police force went on strike. All the ruffians and thieves at once came out of hiding and looted and murdered unhindered. Whole stocks of goods were loaded in drays and carted away. No one's life and property were safe until the governor brought in the militia, declared martial law, and posted soldiers in every part of the city.

Policemen assigned to different duties. The policeman with whom you are most familiar is the patrolman who walks his beat in rain or shine and sees that order is preserved. You are familiar, too, with the *traffic police men* and with the *motorcycle officers*, who enforce the laws against automobile

speeding. Less familiar are the *plain-clothes men*, who keep in touch with those classes of people among whom crime is most likely to occur and who detect crime or, if possible, prevent it. They are not the romantic creatures that you read about in detective stories. They have no marvelous powers of reasoning such as those which Conan Doyle describes in "Sherlock Holmes." But by visiting pawnshops and secondhand stores to secure information, and by making use of the records that are kept in the bureau of identification, they manage to make a surprising number of captures.

The bureau of identification. The bureau of identification is one of the most interesting features of the police department. Here are kept records, including photographs, of all persons who are arrested for serious offenses (felonies). These records include what are known as the *Bertillon cards*, on which are noted the height and weight, the length and thickness of the head, and many other measurements of arrested persons. More important still are the *finger-print records*. Science has discovered that the minute lines on the tips of one's fingers never change, and that they are never alike in two people; so finger prints are an absolute means of identification. Records are exchanged with the police departments of other cities and with state's prisons, so that in a good bureau a great many thousands of cards are on file. When a person is accused of crime it becomes much easier, if a record of him is found, to trace his movements and to determine whether or not he is guilty;



FIG. 64. Making a finger-print record at a police office. Note the 'rogues' gallery at the left.

also, the police may be able to determine whether or not he is being sought for crime committed elsewhere.

Police organization. At the head of the police department in most large cities is a civilian *police commissioner* or a *board of commissioners*, either appointed by the mayor or elected by the people. (The head of the police department is appointed by the governor of the state in the cases of St. Louis, Boston, Baltimore, Kansas City, Missouri, and a few

other cities.) A board of police commissioners has usually not worked well, and to elect its members is clearly a violation of the short-ballot principle. Below the civilian head of the department comes a *chief of police*, who is a member of the uniformed force. Below the chief, the force is organized in a military manner with *captains*, *lieutenants*, and *sergeants*. Large cities are divided into precincts, each of which is usually in charge of a captain. In smaller cities the organization is much simpler, and the chief of police is generally the head of the department.

Personnel. A policeman, of course, should be strong, brave, honest, and intelligent. Patrolmen, especially, should be good natured and obliging, so that they may be on good terms with the law-abiding people on their beats. Detectives and identification officers need shrewdness and special training in their duty. The selection of officers is clearly a very important thing. Men should not be made policemen because they have served or will serve some political boss. Personal favoritism should have no place in a police department. Competitive *mental and physical examinations* furnish the only safe method to determine who shall be policemen. Most large cities use this method, but not always very carefully and thoroughly.

The very best men obtainable are required for such important duties as those of policemen. The men should be paid good salaries, given reasonable hours of work, and treated on all hands in such a way that good and capable men will want to join the force.

Fire protection. Fire constitutes a danger to life and property that is just as real as the dangers against which the police protect us. The annual fire loss in the United States is about \$245,000,000, and the annual cost of insurance and of keeping up fire departments is as much more. *Fire constitutes one of our greatest national wastes.* We have in the United States by far the best fire departments and also the largest fire losses in the world.

The success of a fire department depends upon its swiftness. Its greatest triumphs are not won at the big spectacular blazes, but in the fires it puts out during their first five minutes. The organization of a fire department must be so arranged that there will be



American-La France Fire Engine Co., Inc.

FIG. 65. A piece of modern fire apparatus, a pumping engine using gasoline. The motor which propels the car pumps the water.



FIG. 66. Carelessness like this makes our fire losses the largest in the world. Note the cigar and the mass of paper which a spark might set on fire.

competent superior officers in charge at every fire. Its discipline must be so perfect that the chief can send his men and apparatus here and there as a general does the units of his army.

The *chief* of the fire department is usually appointed by the mayor, manager, or commission, as the case may be. In most of the large cities firemen are appointed on the basis of an examination. In some cities there is a civilian head (*commissioner or board of commissioners*) above the chief.

Fire prevention. The old saying that an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure applies nowhere better than it does to fire control. The most important point in fighting fire is to *see that it never starts*.

To lessen fires, *building laws* should prohibit the erection of buildings that may readily catch fire and so menace neighboring property. The more thickly a neighborhood is built up, the more strict the building laws should be. There should also be laws regulating such matters as electric wiring and the location of steam engines and boilers.

A great deal can be done toward fire prevention by simply taking care. Every one can help much in keeping down the fire menace if he will observe the following: see that every match is out before it is disposed of; be careful about lighting fires; allow no papers and rags to accumulate under stairs and in closets; and do not pack away rags soaked with paint or linseed oil (Fig. 66).

The rural community. In thickly settled rural communities where the people are well-to-do and the roads are good, efforts are sometimes made to provide *fire protection*. Such efforts have been greatly aided by the construction of light fire apparatus mounted on auto bodies. But a great deal more can be done toward providing rural fire protection than has yet been attempted.

Rural police protection is in the hands of the sheriff and his deputies and of the town or township constable. The sheriff and his deputies confine themselves almost altogether to hunting for criminals

after crime has been committed. The constable is paid very little. He is usually elected by the people and cannot be expected to be trained for his task. He does his best. Fortunately, the conditions of rural life are such that police protection is almost unnecessary.

In Pennsylvania and several other states the state government maintains a small but well-trained force (called *constabulary* in Pennsylvania) which is used to maintain order where the local authorities are not able to do so. It is more like a body of soldiers than a police force and is particularly useful in checking riots.

QUESTIONS

What does the average American boy think of a policeman? Why? What lesson can we draw from the Boston police strike? What are the duties of patrolmen, traffic officers, and detectives? What methods does a real police detective use? How do they differ from those of Sherlock Holmes? What is an identification bureau? What are Bertillon cards? Why are finger prints valuable? How does the identification bureau help to prevent and punish crime? How is a police department usually organized? What qualities should a policeman possess? How should he be selected? How great is the annual fire loss of the United States? How does the cost of insurance and the upkeep of fire departments compare with the cost of actual losses by fire? In what case does the fire department render the most valuable service? What part do building laws play in fire prevention? How can you help in fire prevention? What can a rural community do for fire protection? What police protection is there in a rural community?

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

The police and fire departments of your own city, including their organization and equipment. See BEARD, C. A., *American City Government*; MUNRO, W. B., *Principles and Methods of Municipal Administration*; and REED, T. H., *Form and Functions of American*

Government, Chapter 29 for the police department and pages 464-467 for the fire department.

CIVIC ACTIVITIES

Fire prevention gives an opportunity to do something directly of civic value. The class might well get the chief of the local fire department or one of his assistants to give a talk on how to keep fires from getting started. The students can, in a way, become junior members of the fire department to help save the community from loss. They may carry out suitable assignments from the fire chief, such as investigating conditions that may cause fires.

An opportunity for usefulness is sometimes to be had in connection with the police department. In several cities, as at Berkeley, California, under Chief August Vollmer, the "junior police" idea has worked satisfactorily.

A visit to the identification bureau of the police department will be very interesting.

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

PRESERVATION OF HEALTH

The community and health. Disease is far more destructive than fire and crime, and it is more difficult to protect the public against it. Until very recently, so little was known of the cause of disease that it was regarded as a visitation of Providence impossible to avoid. Such medical science as there was devoted itself exclusively to effecting cures. But gradually, through science, we have learned the causes of the common diseases. We have learned, too, that many of them are *preventable* by simple means. Consequently, almost every community now has a department whose business it is to guard the public health.

Personal health. To do his best for his country, a citizen must have health, and the matter of keeping well is largely in his own control. Fresh air, exercise, cleanliness, careful eating, freedom from bad habits, and plenty of sleep are a few of the fundamentals of health which most people can secure for themselves. *It is not good citizenship to make oneself a burden upon the community through avoidable illness.*

Contagious diseases. There are diseases from which no amount of precaution on the part of the individual can entirely protect him. Here the community, through its public-health organization, steps in to do *what the individual cannot do*. Science has made marvelous progress in tracing the causes of contagious or transmissible disease, and in *eradicating those causes*. For example, it was shown that the bacillus of yellow fever is transmitted only by a



American Museum of Nat. Hist.

FIG. 67. Fighting mosquitoes by spraying oil or other larvicide over the pools in which they breed. Where it is possible to do so, such marshy places should be drained.

particular kind of mosquito; and by destroying that mosquito yellow fever has been practically done away with. The bacillus of malaria, too, is known to be carried by another mosquito. By destroying the larvæ of mosquitoes in the marshy breeding places a great deal has been done to prevent malaria (Fig. 67).

Quarantine. A great many diseases are transmitted almost altogether by contact either directly with a diseased person or with food or drink that he has touched. Every effort is made by the health authorities to quarantine persons known to have contagious disease. It is the duty of every physician to report cases of contagious disease to the health department of his community, and *it is the duty of*

every citizen to submit willingly to the inconveniences of quarantine.

Unfortunately, it is not always easy to tell when a person ought to be quarantined. One may have a contagious disease so lightly as not to be inconvenienced by it and yet be a menace to others. Sometimes, too, the symptoms of a contagious disease are so confused with symptoms of another trouble as at first to deceive the attending physician.

Carriers. There are persons who, without being ill with a disease, are full of its bacteria. They are known as *carriers*. On the brig "Acme" sailing out of San Francisco, one to three cases of typhoid fever developed during every voyage. Neither the water nor the food supplies showed signs of infection. At last an officer of the California State Board of Health discovered that one of the crew was a carrier. On the ship's deck was a barrel of drinking water, with a tin cup attached to it by a chain. Every time the carrier took a drink his dirty thumb and forefinger went into the cup, infecting it.

Public-health laboratories. Every community should have a public-health laboratory to which doctors may send for *free analysis* specimens taken from suspected cases. A boy in the schoolroom has what is apparently a bad cold. The laboratory promptly discovers that it is a case of measles. He is sent home, and the class is saved from an epidemic of measles. A girl with a sore throat—only a little sore—is shown, by means of an analysis, to have diphtheria. Her immediate exclusion from school perhaps saves the



American Museum of Nat. Hist.

FIG. 68. Bacteriologists making microscopic examinations of specimens for bubonic plague. Such examinations are made in our seaport towns to guard against the importation of cases of infectious disease.

lives of several of her companions. It is only through the work of the laboratory that such cases can be promptly detected (Fig. 68).

Drinking cups, towels, and food. Common drinking cups and roller towels are dangerous as conveyors of infection. They are forbidden by the laws of most states, but they still exist. Avoid them. Furthermore, always be sure that your hands are clean before you handle food or drink for yourself or others. This simple precaution may prevent great misfortune.

Vaccination. There are diseases, particularly *smallpox* and *typhoid fever*, to which one can be made immune by vaccination. The United States army

vaccinates all soldiers for both these diseases. Small-pox vaccination is very commonly required of all school children. Many people object to vaccination, but it has played an important part in preventing disease. Every person who by vaccination secures immunity from a disease protects not only himself but all those about him.

Progress in sanitation. Modern methods of sanitation have had a great deal to do with the improved condition of public health. At the beginning of the nineteenth century sewers were not common, and slops and garbage were disposed of as the individual saw fit. Today, in every well-regulated city of any size, there is a complete system of sewers and every building must be connected with it. There is also provision for the collection of garbage.

Sewers and sewage disposal. Sewers cost all large communities vast sums of money. They must be big enough to meet any need that may arise, free from leaks, and so graded as to have a natural flow or else be supplied with pumps. The easiest method for the disposal of sewage is to let it *run into a river*, a lake, or the sea; but rivers and lakes should not be polluted, and oceans are not generally convenient of access. The most interesting means of disposal is perhaps the *sewage farm*, where the sewage is flowed upon land and incidentally irrigates and fertilizes the soil. Special soil and climatic conditions are necessary to the success of this plan. Sometimes sewage is allowed to *filter* slowly through beds of sand and gravel. This method is very effective but is

expensive. The most common means of disposal is the *septic tank*, which is a good deal like a very large cesspool. Frequently some method of filtration or treatment by chemicals is used in connection with it. It cannot be said that any one of these systems of disposal is the best for all cities. The citizen does most wisely to admit that he knows nothing about sewage disposal and to *insist on the city calling in competent engineers* to advise as to methods.

Garbage collection and disposal. In some parts of the country the collection of garbage is still left to private scavengers. Elsewhere the city lets a contract to a private individual or company to collect it. Neither method is really satisfactory. *The collection of garbage should be conducted by the city.* It is so closely associated with the public health and comfort that it cannot properly be left to private hands. The only motive should be to collect all of the garbage. Private scavengers and contractors often collect what is easy to collect and neglect the rest.

Garbage should be kept in fly-tight, metal cans, and in a section of detached dwellings it should be collected at least once a week. In a tenement-house district collection should, of course, be more frequent. Care in handling garbage has a good deal to do with community comfort. *The refuse from stables* should be kept in water-tight and fly-tight containers. Otherwise it becomes a breeding place for flies, and flies are often the bearers of disease.

Garbage disposal is even a harder problem than sewage disposal. Some of the methods, aside from

dumping in an out-of-the-way place, are *feeding* to hogs, *burning* ("incineration"), and *reduction* in such a way as to save the greases of which garbage is largely made up. Local conditions must determine which plan is best for a particular city. A great deal of reclaimable matter is undoubtedly wasted in garbage. The vital point, however, is that it *should not have got into the garbage pail* in the first place. Thrift in the home and in hotels and eating places can take most of the value out of refuse.

Housing. A community, if it is to give all its children a fair chance in the world, must see that every family has a healthy and comfortable place to live. The laws requiring *sanitary conveniences, proper ventilation, and an abundance of light* for city dwellings should be strictly enforced. In small towns proper housing is not necessarily a serious problem, since ground is comparatively cheap and there is little inducement to build dwelling places too close together. But in the big cities, great numbers of people are crowded into tenements where a whole family will sometimes live in a single room with no outside ventilation. Such a condition, coupled with insufficient food, breeds *tuberculosis*. The conquest of that disease depends upon community betterment as well as upon medicine.

Vigorous action by the board of health in *condemning unhealthful buildings* will help to get rid of the worst of existing evils. Good building laws will help a great deal for the future.

Water supply. Think what would happen to your city if it were deprived even for a few days of its water supply. An abundance of water is necessary to cleanliness and health and to life itself. Furthermore, diseases such as typhoid and dysentery are frequently conveyed by water, so that *it is of the utmost importance that it be pure.*

There are two ways of securing a supply of pure water. One is to *seek an unpolluted source*: and in many parts of the country this means going to a considerable distance. Los Angeles brings its water through an aqueduct 209 miles long. New York's daily supply of 500,000,000 gallons comes a distance of 110 miles. Only the largest cities can afford to spend the vast sums necessary for such works. If a clean source of supply cannot be secured, the water must be *filtered*. In some sections a sufficient quantity of good water can be secured from wells. Water is supplied in most of the large cities of the United States by the cities themselves. It is usual for them to charge a rate for the water that will pay all operating expenses and cover the interest and installments on the principal of the money invested in the works.

Milk supply. A supply of pure milk is about as essential as a supply of pure water. It is almost the only food of all children during the first few years of life. As it comes fresh from healthy cows, it is usually very wholesome. A city's milk supply, however, cannot come fresh from the cows. It is from twelve to forty-eight hours old before it reaches the consumer. Unless the greatest precautions are



FIG. 69. Testing samples of milk in a public-health laboratory. Small samples are taken from cans of milk that are in the hands of distributors. If any sample is not up to standard, the dairyman who is responsible will be notified.

taken to keep it clean and cool, bacteria will multiply in it until it becomes dangerous to infant life. Milk is often Pasteurized—heated without boiling—to get rid of bacteria. Many epidemics of typhoid fever have been traced to infected milk.

City and sometimes state health departments inspect dairies and see to it that they are run in a cleanly manner. Cows are tested for tuberculosis, and if found diseased are in some cases killed. Samples of milk are analyzed, and if they show too many bacteria or too small a percentage of butter fat, the dealer is obliged to remedy the condition or quit selling. In too many places the testing of dairy cattle is still left to the owner's discretion.

Food inspection. There are many other foods besides milk that should be inspected to prevent disease. Many dealers are too careless about exposing their fruits, vegetables, and pastry to dust and flies, and a few who are unscrupulous do not hesitate to sell contaminated goods to unsuspecting customers. Constant vigilance on the part of health officials is needed to prevent acts and remedy conditions that may endanger the public health.

The health department. In most American cities there is a *board of health* serving without pay. A majority, at least, of its members are physicians. By



FIG. 70. A school visiting nurse examining pupils. If she finds eye trouble, adenoids, infected tonsils, bad teeth, or under-nourishment, she notes this on the child's health-report card, and measures are taken to get the case attended to.

the laws of the state it has broad powers conferred upon it with regard to quarantine, vaccination, enforcement of sanitary laws, and milk and general food inspection. There is also usually a *health officer*, who is the executive of the board. He generally receives a salary and has assistants in proportion to the size of the city. In many states there is a *county health officer*, appointed by the county board. Rural sanitation, however, has been a good deal neglected, and any effective rural health work has, as a rule, been conducted by state authorities. Much effective assistance has been given to local health authorities throughout the country by the United States Public Health Service.

QUESTIONS

Why is it your duty to keep well? To what extent can you keep yourself well? Name some diseases that have been practically stamped out by modern science. What is meant by quarantine? What is our duty with regard to it? What are carriers? How does a public-health laboratory help to prevent disease? What part do drinking cups and roller towels play in spreading disease? What do you think about vaccination? Why should the community require that sewer connections be made to all houses? How should garbage be kept? stable refuse? What can you tell about methods of sewage disposal? Why should a city consult engineers before deciding on a method of sewage disposal? What can you tell about garbage disposal? What relation have dark rooms to tuberculosis? Why is the water supply so important? How can we get a pure supply? How important is it to have pure milk? How can we be sure of a pure supply? What has milk to do with tuberculosis? Why should other foods be inspected? What is a board of health? a health officer?

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

The local board of health and its activities; milk and food regulations. The local water supply; systems of sewage and garbage

disposal, including, if possible, an analysis of their cost and comparisons with the methods in use in other places. See BEARD, C. A., *American City Government*; MUNRO, W. B., *Principles and Methods of Municipal Administration*; ALLEN, W. H., *Civics and Health*; ZUEBLIN, C. A., *American Municipal Progress* (Revised Edition). *The American City* and *The Survey* are helpful periodicals. See the numerous publications of the New York Department of Health, the Milwaukee Board of Health, and the United States Public Health Service; also RITCHIE, JOHN W., *Primer of Sanitation*. REED, T. H., *Form and Functions of American Government*, Chapters 22 and 39, covers the subjects touched upon in this chapter and gives numerous references.

CIVIC ACTIVITIES

Let the class arrange to carry out some scheme whereby it can help to preserve public health. Subjects for such activity are the following: The matter of drinking cups, washing facilities, and towels in the school; handling of refuse from school lunches; tracing milk and water supplies of the school and securing tests of either or both; a 'swat-the-fly' campaign; an anti-mosquito campaign. These matters should be taken up only with the approval of the school authorities and with the advice of the health department. A talk by the health officer or some qualified physician will be helpful, as will a visit to the office and laboratory of the health department.

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

COMMUNITY PLANNING

The need for planning. Before construction is begun on a house or a ship, complete plans are prepared so that as the work goes forward every bit of material finds its way to the right place and every part of the structure fits with every other part. Your education, too, is carried on in accordance with a careful plan made possible by years of experience. It does not just happen that you take up each subject in the order that you do. Indeed, every one recognizes that such matters cannot be left to chance or to the whim of the individual student or even of the individual teacher. If planning is necessary for houses, ships, and courses of study, it must be even more necessary to the orderly growth of a community (Fig. 71).

Street planning. Most American communities were not planned. They just grew. In many cities, of which Boston may serve as an example, the early streets found their way among houses without any scheme at all. So crooked were the Boston streets that the tradition grew up of their following the ancient cowpaths. In many other cities all streets have been laid out on a uniform *checkerboard pattern*. Sometimes, as in San Francisco, the checkerboard design is laid down on a rough, hilly surface, so that some streets are bound to be practically useless because of the impossible grades. The Boston "cowpaths" are better because they follow the contour of the hills.

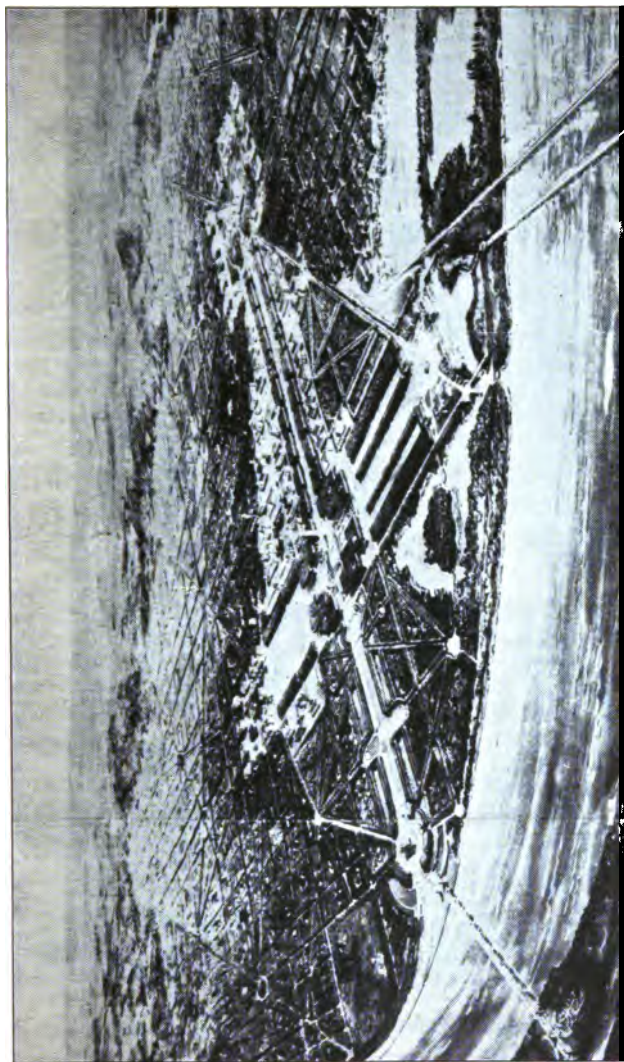
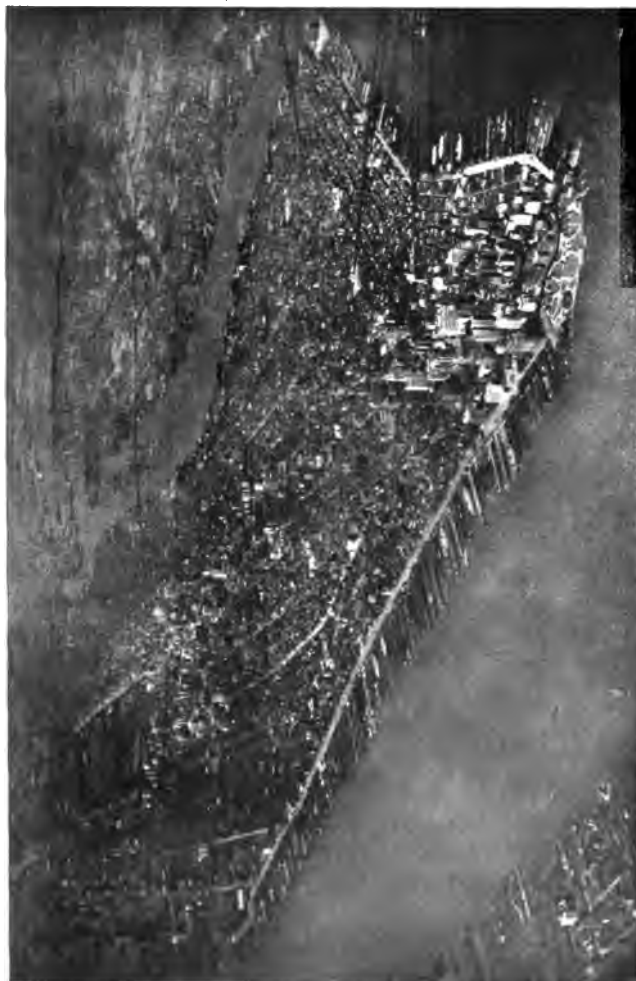


FIG. 71. Washington, D. C., one of the best-planned cities in the world. The radiating avenues furnish magnificent approaches to monuments and public buildings. On a hill at Arlington, just across the Potomac, is the grave of Major L'Enfant, the engineer who planned the city.

It always happens that traffic congests in the business district when a checkerboard city grows large. Sometimes *diagonal* streets have to be cut through, at vast expense, to relieve this congestion. A diagonal street is always a busy one because it is a shorter way to more places than other streets. The best exemplification of this truth is Broadway, New York. The checkerboard design leaves no suitable place for the display of fine public buildings and is an obstacle to the beautifying of the city (Fig. 72).

Community preparedness. There has been almost no *community planning in the broader sense*, which includes making provision for such important matters as parks and playgrounds, school grounds and buildings, means of transportation, and housing. Plans must be made with future needs in mind, or growth will find the community unprepared. New York, growing without a plan, got to be a great, crowded city without playgrounds. It then discovered that it needed playgrounds and paid millions of dollars for a few small tracts in its tenement-house districts.

Parks and playgrounds. The health and happiness of many city people depend largely upon the opportunities for outdoor recreation that are furnished by the city. Our earliest parks were nothing more than the common cow pastures. The beautiful and dignified Boston Common is perhaps the best example of a park of such origin. It was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that our cities began to acquire parks on a large scale. Central



Feirechild Aerial Camera Corporation

FIG. 72. An aerial photograph of the island of Manhattan and other portions of New York City. Note the irregular street plan at the lower end of the island and the rectangular blocks in other parts of the city. Note also the large rectangle where Central Park is, and the extensive system of docks fringing the island, most of which are owned by the city.

Park was bought by New York in 1853, and since then almost every other large city has acquired at least one important park. In recent years many of the large cities have acquired extensive reservations *in the outlying parts of the city*, or even outside the city limits, and have united them into a consistent system of parks. Kansas City, Missouri, for example, has a remarkably complete system of parks and drives.

It has been found, however, that parks situated in the outlying parts of the city, which must be reached by a long street-car ride or by automobile, do not meet the needs of the mass of the people. In the last few years great progress has been made in providing *open spaces in the thickly populated parts of cities*. These open spaces are not altogether laid off in beautiful flower beds and lawns, but are very largely devoted to *playground* purposes. There are now upward of a thousand cities that furnish supervised play for children on such grounds.

The most thoroughgoing and complete system of playgrounds and recreation centers has been established in Chicago. At these centers there are not only opportunities for football, baseball, tennis, basketball, gymnasium work, and swimming, but there are also recreation houses in which are located branches of the public library, lunchrooms, and clubrooms for many different organizations. It is really wonderful to think that in the midst of all the hurly-burly of our cities such provisions have been made for the development of real community life. Every com-



Playground and Recreation Assn. of America

FIG. 73. Seward Park, one of Chicago's modern playgrounds and community centers.

munity, even if it does not need parks and playgrounds now, ought to plan for the future by acquiring the land for them while it may be obtainable at reasonable prices.

Civic beauty. The character of a city is in a large measure expressed by its streets, parks, and public buildings. If these are what they should be, they stimulate people to a clearer understanding of community life. Some persons can never see why more money should be spent on a school building than is sufficient to keep out the weather. They are wrong. A beautiful school building helps to make citizens better by keeping constantly before their eyes *a visible expression of the dignity and worth of the community*. It is the duty of each citizen to do every-



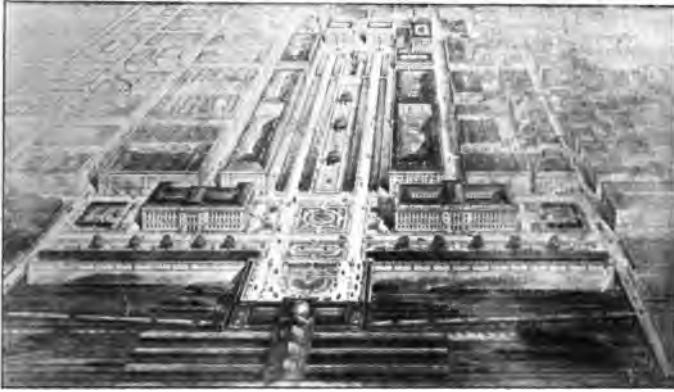
American Museum of Nat. Hist.

FIG. 74. A city back yard as it was found by six public-spirited schoolboys.



American Museum of Nat. Hist.

FIG. 75. The yard shown in Figure 74 as the six boys left it. The yard was benefited and so were the boys.



Burnham, Carrere, and Brunner

FIG. 76. The Cleveland civic center as planned. In the foreground is the roof of the proposed Union Passenger Station. The principal public buildings are to be grouped about a park. In furtherance of this excellent plan, a good deal of land has been cleared of old buildings and some new buildings have been erected.

thing in his power to preserve and increase the beauty of his city. Young people can do much toward keeping up the appearance of a town by seeing to it that their yards are tidy, caring for lawns, and never throwing litter in the streets or parks.

The civic center. In every city the principal public buildings should be grouped with reference to an open area—a civic center—where the citizens may meet for public purposes. Wherever possible, this civic center should be approached by wide radiating streets down which vistas of beautiful buildings may be seen. Even a small town may have its *square* or *green*, made beautiful with wide-spreading trees.

Housing. Every city has building laws which are designed to protect the health of occupants of build-



FIG. 77. A model of the Roman Forum in its present condition. The
held and the fate of men and nations

ings and to guard against the danger of fire. These laws, however, can never solve the housing problem. *Men with money to invest must be induced to build good homes for working people.* New York State now has a law under which municipalities may encourage the building of dwelling places through a remission of taxes. This measure was meant to be a temporary one. The wisdom of giving such direct aid to private enterprise and of remitting taxes is open to serious question.

The matter of assuring proper housing conditions may be greatly simplified by right city planning. A city may be so laid out that there will be many *short lots* on which it will be impossible to build long, airless tenement houses.

Zoning. No one would like to have a soap factory or a laundry established very near his home. Yet



Metropolitan Museum of Art

Forum was the civic center of ancient Rome. Here elections were decided by the Roman people.

such things frequently happen, and as a result much good residence property loses value. In almost every city there are what are called *blighted districts*, spoiled for residence purposes by the coming of a railroad line or factories and not yet needed for business purposes. Then, too, there may be very great loss of efficiency in the hit-and-miss location of industries.

There must be places in every community that are especially well adapted for industries, business houses, hotels, apartments, or large or small residences. By *zoning* is meant the setting apart of each district of the city for its particular best use. Zoning ordinances have been adopted in only a few localities, but much attention is being given to the subject. There is no more important phase of city planning than this one of zoning, the object of which is to get the most for every purpose of life out of the city's site.

Transportation. City growth is dependent upon transportation, and right city planning is necessary to secure the best facilities for transportation. *The correct location of railroad lines*, especially of their stations for freight and passengers, is very important. Where there is a river or harbor, its improvement by deepening or widening the channel and providing *suitable docks and wharves* may vastly increase the prosperity of the city. Los Angeles, situated eighteen miles from the sea, has spent millions in developing a harbor for ocean-going vessels and has annexed a strip of territory to connect the city with its port. Means of transporting people from their homes to their work are absolutely necessary in any really large city. Good *street-car service* at reasonable rates, by extending the area within which people may live, helps to avoid overcrowding and so to lessen the housing problem.

QUESTIONS

Why are plans necessary for every big piece of work? Have American cities generally been planned? What can you say about some of the early streets in Boston? What criticism can you give of the checkerboard plan for a city? Why are diagonal streets usually busy streets? Give examples. What can you say of the plan of Washington? What is community planning in the broader sense? Has there been much community planning in the United States? What are some of the consequences of failure to plan? What limits are there to the usefulness of outlying parks? What effect have playgrounds had upon the conduct of children? What should be the community's policy with regard to acquiring parks and playgrounds? What is the relation between civic beauty and civic loyalty? What is the value of a civic center? What was the civic center of Rome? What use do the Spanish-Americans make of the plaza? How do badly constructed tenements contribute to the

spread of tuberculosis? What are some of the means by which better housing conditions can be secured? What effect may the shape and size of lots have on housing? What is the result of putting a factory in the heart of a residence district? What is meant by zoning? What transportation needs must be planned for in a community?

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

The topics suggested by this chapter are almost endless, including street plans, park systems, playgrounds, civic centers, housing, and zoning. These topics should be considered with particular reference to your own city. Good material illustrating this chapter may be found in BEARD, C. A., *American City Government*; MUNRO, W. B., *Principles and Methods of Municipal Administration*; HOWE, F. C., *The Modern City and Its Problems*; ZUEBLIN, C., *American Municipal Progress*; NOLEN, JOHN, *Replanning Small Cities*; ADDAMS, JANE, *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets*; RIIS, JACOB, *The Children of the Tenements and How the Other Half Lives*; KOESTER, FRANK, *Modern City Planning and Maintenance*; ROBINSON, C. M., *The Improvement of Towns and Cities*; *The Survey*; REED, T. H., *Form and Functions of American Government*, Chapters 29 and 39.

CIVIC ACTIVITIES

The class will be interested in doing what it can toward beautifying the community. If a garden or back-yard contest can be arranged in which a small prize is offered for the best work, it will greatly stimulate interest. This may be done, perhaps, with the assistance of the Rotary Club, Chamber of Commerce, or a similar organization. The class should be ready to take action against any of its members who throw paper or refuse about the school yard or damage the school building. Similarly, it should commend those who are conspicuous in preserving the tidiness of the school yard and building. Some of the members of the class may wish to form a civic camera club to take photographs of places that do credit to the community and places that need improvement.

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

PUBLIC UTILITIES

Public-utility monopolies. Since an abundance of pure water is necessary to public health, cities have from early times taken great precautions to make sure of their supplies of water. Ancient Rome was served by a wonderful system of aqueducts. During the last century gas, water, street-railway transportation, and telephone service have also become essential (Fig. 78). All these services are known as *public utilities*: first, because they are necessary to so many people, and second, because they are supplied by means of pipes, poles, wires, or rails which are conducted through the public streets.

The right to use the streets for public-utility purposes is known as a *franchise*. Poles, rails, and wires are not in themselves desirable in public streets. The less of them the better after the necessary service has been provided for. It has, therefore, been unusual to allow two or more utilities serving the same end to occupy the same street. This means that *the holder of a franchise usually has the exclusive right to furnish a particular form of service to the public*. The individual can do nothing by himself to control the quality or price of these services. Competition cannot be depended on as a regulator. It is not strange, therefore, that the public-utility problem is often a serious one. Since we cannot do without these utilities, the community must either control them or own and operate them.



Am. Tel. and Tel. Co.

FIG. 78. "Weavers of Speech." The work of office, farm, and factory could hardly go on without the telephone, the public utility which has made of the United States a compact community.

Public ownership. Many persons believe that it is wrong to grant to any individual or corporation an exclusive right to the use of a public street. They hold that all public utilities should be owned and operated by the community. Other persons believe that public ownership and operation should never be undertaken so long as private enterprise can supply the service. They argue that public ownership and operation will bring careless, inefficient, and corrupt management; that jobs will be used to strengthen the power of party machines; and that taking "utilities" away from private ownership unwisely limits the opportunities for private enterprise. Each side is partly right and partly wrong.

Private enterprise has given us many utilities that would never have been begun with public funds be-

cause of the risk of loss. On the other hand, public ownership is often a practicable means of handling a public utility. It has been proved by experience in many places that a community can conduct an established utility without corruption and with reasonable efficiency. Private ownership, however, is somewhat more efficient in operation; and where a privately owned utility is giving good service at reasonable rates it is unnecessary to place upon the community the additional burden of running that utility. Where there is public ownership, there is little inducement to invent new methods or to adopt improvements of any kind.

The question of public ownership should be settled separately for each utility in each community. The



FIG. 79. The highest point on the New York elevated railway system. Elevated lines, surface cars, and subways are hardly sufficient to solve New York's transportation problem.

fundamental principle on which it should be decided is this, that *freedom should be allowed to individual enterprise so long as it does not interfere with the highest welfare of the community.*

Water supply. Of all public utilities the water system is the one most commonly owned and operated by the community. The *absolute necessity of the service*, the wish to keep the price low so that all the people may enjoy the full benefit of it, and the imperative need for purity, are all strong arguments in favor of public ownership and operation. Even the *business arguments* are in this case favorable to public ownership. The construction of a great water-supply system is too vast an undertaking for private capital; a reasonable price for water would hardly allow an adequate return on the money invested. Where waterworks are once constructed, however, their operation is very simple, requiring the employment of comparatively few men. The importance of these facts will be clearer if we contrast water supply with milk supply, the nature of the dairy business being such that public ownership and operation would not be practical.

Gas and electricity. Conditions in cities make the supply of gas and electricity almost as essential as the supply of water. Electricity has largely taken the place of gas as a means of lighting, but the use of gas as a fuel has vastly increased in recent years. There have been very few municipally operated gas plants in this country, and they have not generally been successful. The manufacture of gas is a some-



FIG. 80. A high-tension power line. Over such lines, millions of horsepower generated by the fall of water are carried for hundreds of miles to centers of industry.

what difficult and intricate chemical process, and it requires a very costly plant. Gas can be economically produced only on a large scale. This, of course, does not apply to natural gas. Where that is available, conditions may be different.

Electric current can be produced with a fair degree of economy in small units, and a great many of our cities, especially the smaller ones, have adopted the policy of supplying electricity to the public. Of late years the supplying of electric current has fallen more and more into the hands of great corporations

which serve many cities, and which manufacture the current either in large steam plants or by the use of water power (Fig. 80).

Transportation. The principal means of transportation in American cities is the electric street railway. From 1890 to 1910 such lines were extensively built all over the country, and for a while they were profitable. But at the beginning of the year 1921 practically every street railway in the United States was in financial distress. Higher fares usually mean fewer passengers, and although rates were raised to ten cents in Boston and to six, seven, or eight cents in many cities, they have only partly relieved the situation. San Francisco and Seattle have undertaken to own and operate street-car lines. San Francisco's municipal railway, operating under exceptionally favorable conditions, has been a financial success and very satisfactory from the point of view of service. Seattle has not been so fortunate.

Regulation of public utilities. There are two solutions of the public-utility problem: one is *public ownership*, the other is *strict public regulation*. Up to a few years ago regulation was left entirely to the local communities. In granting franchises, the communities tried to provide for a degree of control by themselves, and they sometimes included provisions for low rates in the franchises. Some companies, however, did not hesitate to secure favorable franchises by corrupt means. Local control was not generally satisfactory.

In recent years the power of regulating rates and

service has been frequently intrusted to *state public-utility commissions*. These commissions first determine the value of the company's property, then fix a rate that will yield a fair return upon that value. Justice and common sense require this. If a fair return is not allowed, men with capital will make no further investment in the utility. Up to the entry of the United States into the Great War, the commissions had been steadily reducing rates. War conditions led them to increase the rates for many utilities. The public were very well satisfied with the rate reductions. The real strain on the system of commission regulation began with general rate increases. If the public loses confidence in the commissions, there may be no solution except public ownership.

It must be remembered throughout all the discussion of regulation and public ownership that *the community cannot have the service of any utility without paying for it, if not in rates or fares, then in taxes*.

Rural public utilities. There are naturally fewer public-utility enterprises in rural communities than in cities. But many country districts are served with water, electric light and power, telephone, and trolley or auto-stage lines. A rural community can, of course, do very little to help itself either by ownership or regulation, because it usually covers only a small part of the area served by any utility. It has to depend on the state for the control of public-utility companies.

Some states provide by law for the creation of *districts* comprising several towns or even counties



U. S. Reclamation Service

FIG. 81. A great irrigation ditch on the Rio Grande project in New Mexico. Beyond the bridge are the head gates for the control of the flow of water.

for public-utility purposes. In the states of the Far West where water is required for irrigation, districts are organized comprising all the land to be irrigated. The affairs of an *irrigation district* are managed by a board of directors elected by the residents or property owners of the district, and the cost of the necessary works—sometimes very large—is assessed against the land benefited. Similar districts, in other parts of the country, provide for the drainage of swamp lands and the construction and maintenance of levees. By such means portions of the country that would otherwise have remained waste have been made fertile and prosperous.

QUESTIONS

Why are public utilities usually monopolies? What effect has this upon the ability of each individual to protect himself in matters of rates and service? What is the chief argument for public ownership? against it? Why is the water system usually owned by the public? Why are electric-light plants more commonly owned by the public than gas plants? Why have street-railway profits declined? Are these causes permanent? What had franchises to do with corruption in city politics? What will be the test of the success of commission regulation of public utilities?

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

The utilities of your own city; rates and service. The regulation of utilities by your own city and state should also be looked up and reported on to the class. The material will, of course, have to be suggested by the teacher. On the general subject see BEARD, C. A., *American City Government*; MUNRO, W. B., *Principles and Methods of Municipal Administration* (on water supply); HOWE, F. C., *The City the Hope of Democracy*; KING, C. L., *The Regulation of Municipal Utilities*; REED, T. H., *Form and Functions of American Government*, Chapter 26. There is a great deal of periodical literature, including, besides general magazines, such periodicals as *Annals of the American Academy* and *National Municipal Review*.

CIVIC ACTIVITIES

A debate on the proposition that any one of the local public utilities should be owned and operated by the people. In rural schools the subject may have to be made more general. Two pupils should be assigned to the affirmative and two to the negative. Not more than eight minutes should be allowed to each speaker, with four minutes for each side's rebuttal.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

CHARITY

Poverty and its causes. Poverty is one of the great problems with which government has to deal. Its causes are as numerous as the accidents and failures of life itself. Great disasters like fires, floods, or earthquakes always bring with them a train of misery, which fortunately is in most cases temporary. *Sickness is the most prolific cause of poverty.* Many families spend all they earn in order to live, and even a brief illness on the part of the head of such a family means its reduction to want. The use of alcoholic liquors has frequently brought about weakness of body and mind; it has wasted the family income and at the same time destroyed its earning power. Then there are persons who, through no fault of their own, are not competent to earn a living. Seasonal unemployment is a cause of some poverty, especially during the winter, when many outdoor industries are suspended. There is want, also, during times of business depression when factories are shut down.

Public poor relief. The burden of poor relief falls usually upon the town or township in states where those units are fully organized, and elsewhere upon the county. The relief is administered either by *overseers of the poor* elected in the town or township for this particular purpose, or by the county board. The relief is sometimes furnished in supplies of food and clothing or money. This is known as *outdoor relief*. Otherwise the poor are taken care of at a



Children's Aid Society, New York

FIG. 82. These anemic children were brought back to health at Goodhue Home, New Brighton, Staten Island, New York.

town or county poor farm, where those who are able to work are required to do so.

Associated charities. Generally speaking, public poor relief has not gone beyond the point of relieving immediate necessity. It has done little toward seeking out and removing the causes of poverty. The same was for a long time true of private charity. The fact that a great deal of money was being wasted by various charitable enterprises covering the same ground, and that nothing was being accomplished to remove the causes of poverty, led to the establishment in all considerable cities of organizations usually known as the *Associated Charities*.

These attempt to bring all charitable enterprises into harmony and to do constructive work. Associated Charities workers investigate each case that comes to the attention of the organization and recommend the kind of help that will most quickly make a family self-supporting.

Removing the causes of poverty. The community has done a great deal to remove the causes of poverty in ways that we do not ordinarily associate with poor relief. For example, better housing means better health and less poverty. Sickness, the chief cause of poverty, is reduced through such measures as the following: taking precautions to prevent the spread of contagious diseases; the maintenance of free clinics and hospitals in which the poor may be promptly restored to health; the medical inspection of school children; and the removal of adenoids and infected tonsils. The abolition of the liquor traffic throughout the United States has removed another cause of misery and want. The social-reform laws of the last twenty years were designed to strike at the roots of poverty. These include laws providing compensation for men injured while at work, laws regulating sanitation in factories, eight-hour laws for women, and child-labor laws.

The individual and poverty. It is right that we should look upon poverty as a social problem and upon well-directed public charity as a means of relieving it. But we should remember that poverty, at bottom, is caused by the imperfect coöperation of the members of the community. The effective rem-



Cleveland Society for the Blind

FIG. 83. The result of intelligent charity. This blind boy has been taught to operate a lathe and so has been made self-supporting.

edy for poverty lies in better coöperation for the removal of its causes (Fig. 83). This does not mean that we should stop helping individuals who are in distress. In general, it is those who are most kindly disposed toward individual cases of suffering who are most ardently searching out and removing the causes of suffering.

QUESTIONS

What are the principal causes of poverty? Which is the most important of these causes? To what extent do you think the causes of poverty can be removed? By what methods? What units of local government administer poor relief in the United States? What methods do they use? What were the reasons for the establishment of Associated Charities? How do they proceed when a case comes to their attention? What is their aim in the work that they do? What criticism is made of them? What is the individual's duty with regard to poverty?

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

Your local charities and institutions. Reports and personal interviews will have to be the chief means of information. There is no book on the subject suitable for other than advanced students. See REED, T. H., *Form and Functions of American Government*, Chapter 30. *The Survey* will prove a valuable source of material.

CIVIC ACTIVITIES

A definite charitable activity. A small committee, say of three, from the class may confer on the subject with the secretary of the local Associated Charities or other charity workers. The committee should visit the local charitable institutions and, if possible, should visit with a charity worker some of his or her cases. The committee should then report to the class and recommend a form of charitable activity. The activity should be within the power of the class. It should be constructive, and the class should be made to realize its far-reaching possibilities.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE

TRAINING CITIZENS

Expenses and sacrifices for education. The people of this country spend over five hundred million dollars a year on education. In most states children are required to go to school for several years—usually for a period long enough to take them through the grammar grades. Besides the payment of taxes, parents make in the aggregate tremendous sacrifices to give their children an education; and hundreds of thousands of self-sacrificing men and women devote their lives to teaching. What is the purpose in all of this? The purpose of the individual parent is frequently little more than to give his children the best possible opportunities in the battle of life; but the community as such has in mind the training of citizens.

Some of the immediate purposes of education. Our educational system aims to make the citizen *economically sufficient*—able to earn the best living and to do the best work of which he is capable. By offering commercial, mechanical, and agricultural courses, the schools aim to give to each pupil the chance to prepare definitely for a calling; and the knowledge that many girls and boys make mistakes in choosing callings has given rise to the study of *vocational selection*. Each pupil is studied, his or her capabilities are noted, and an attempt is made to get each one interested in a suitable occupation (Fig. 84).

Since the maintenance of *health* plays such an im-



FIG. 84. A class in woodworking. The schools of today offer much greater advantages than did the schools of a generation ago.

portant part in success, schools give a great deal of attention to the physical welfare of their students, and to this end they teach hygiene and sanitation, promote athletics, and provide for the physical inspection of students and the correction of the bodily defects that inspection may reveal.

Americanization. The fact that our country has been sought as a home by millions of the less fortunate people of Europe has created a serious educational problem. Newly arrived immigrants have settled in great masses in our large cities. In some instances they have settled whole sections of our country. They have had their own newspapers in their own language, and their own schools in which English, if taught at all, was only incidental to other

subjects. When the time came for the United States to enter the Great War, most of these people, from whatever country, turned without hesitation to the support of America. There were enough, however, who did not do so, to make us realize that we had been facing a great danger.

In the United States there can be but one native tongue, the English tongue, and all teaching should as far as possible be carried on in it. People who are unlikely ever to become Americanized should be and are largely excluded from entrance into the United States. The practice of foreigners of particular nationalities settling in close groups of their own should be discouraged.

Americanization is now being furthered by means of night schools for adults, with classes especially for



FIG. 85. A night class for adult aliens. The pupils are being taught the procedure that is followed at elections.



American Museum of Nat. Hist.

FIG. 86. School children looking at the fossil skeleton of a dinosaur, an ancient lizardlike animal, in the American Museum of Natural History, New York. The museums of this country, through their investigations, do much for the advancement of liberal education.

foreigners; through the activities of patriotic organizations that provide free instruction; and by public lectures. Each of us, individually, can aid in this great work by being as considerate of the foreigner who is trying to learn our ways as we would have him be of us in reversed circumstances. We should recognize the fact that *men from many nations have helped to enrich our national life*. But our country has given much to them, and for that and for its self-preservation it must have their undivided allegiance. We can be thankful that most of the people who come to America to make it their home realize this. In-



FIG. 87. The main building of the College of William and Mary in Virginia. Sir Christopher Wren, the architect of St. Paul's Cathedral in London, designed the building. The college, which, after Harvard, is the oldest one in the United States, has been training citizens since 1693.

deed, it is gratifying and often helpful to our native citizens to hear some of our newer citizens state the very good reasons that they have for an unwavering loyalty to our country.

The social value of education. The school is our chief agency for making young citizens and many of our new citizens socially adaptable—willing to cooperate to the highest degree. The Golden Rule lies at the foundation of a useful social life. *The educated man knows that the welfare of his fellowmen is inseparable from his own welfare.* He has at once a proper sense of humility with regard to his personal merits and a proper sense of his dignity as a human being. "Education" that simply makes a citizen more capable in providing for his material wants is largely

wasted. Unless his capabilities are developed and used for the good of all, his schooling has missed its point.

To play well his part a citizen must not only be able to earn a living but he must also have a right social attitude. He must enter into the spirit of his country's traditions and purposes and have an intelligent interest in its problems.

QUESTIONS

How much do the people of the United States spend each year on education? What sacrifices do individuals make in the cause of education? Why do they make them? What is meant by economic sufficiency? What vocations do schools prepare for directly? What help can a school give in selecting callings for its pupils? What is the problem of Americanization? What justification, if any, is there for the publication in our country of foreign-language newspapers? for schools taught in foreign languages? What are some of the means by which Americanization can be effectively promoted? What is meant by social adaptability? What part should the Golden Rule play in one's social relations? Why must you know the framework of your government? Can you be the most desirable kind of citizen and not understand the problems of the community?

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

The various occupations open to boys and girls in your community may each be assigned to a pupil for investigation. His report should cover such matters as length and character of preparation, either as student or apprentice, qualities of mind and body required, opportunities in the way of salary, and possible satisfaction in the work itself.

CIVIC ACTIVITIES

An Americanization exercise. Some members of the class should prepare statements showing the advantages of American citizenship. Other members should tell why they or their people chose this country as their home.

The class may wish to present an Americanization pageant to the whole school.

PART FOUR
THE CITIZEN IN STATE AND NATION
Liberty and Law

The State, as Aristotle says, having begun as a means of making life possible, continues as a means of making life prosperous. When once the necessary basis of authority is established, that authority becomes with each generation more impartial and more absolute, protecting the laborer as well as the soldier and politician.

ARTHUR T. HADLEY

CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM

Colonial government. The settlers of the English colonies in North America brought with them from the mother country their ideas of government; and the English Bill of Rights of 1689 fairly expressed these ideas. The Bill of Rights provided in substance that laws should be made and repealed and that taxes should be laid only with the consent of the representatives of the people (Parliament); that the election of members of Parliament should be free, and that freedom of speech should prevail in that body; that subjects had the right to petition the king; and that excessive fines should not be imposed. *In each of the Thirteen Colonies there was a representative body elected by the people, which made laws and laid taxes.* In all but Pennsylvania and Delaware there was an "upper house," the members of which were usually appointed by the king. The consent of this upper house was necessary to the making of any law. In each of the colonies there was a *governor*, usually appointed by the king, who exercised executive power.

Early state governments. When the War for Independence began, it became necessary for the colonies to provide for their own government. Connecticut and Rhode Island, which had enjoyed a very large measure of self-government under liberal colonial charters, continued to use their old charters, making only a few verbal changes. The rest of the states between 1775 and 1780 adopted *constitutions*.

These constitutions specified how the state was to be governed, and declared that certain rights of the citizen might not be interfered with. If the legislature passed any measure in conflict with the state constitution, the courts would not enforce that measure. The form of government under these constitutions was much like that of colonial days.

Articles of Confederation. Colonies had sometimes acted together during the wars with the French and the Indians; but no effort at union was successful until the outbreak of the struggle with the mother country. Then intercolonial *committees of correspondence* were organized, and several *congresses* were held. It was the second *Continental Congress* that began the war and declared independence. This Congress also undertook to draw up a formal plan of union under a central government. The result was the *Articles of Confederation*, which were adopted in 1778 and were finally ratified by all the states in 1781.

The central government, under the Articles of Confederation, consisted of a Congress whose members were elected by the legislatures of the states. Through committees it directed the conduct of the war and exercised other executive functions. Each state had one vote in the Congress, and in important matters the agreement of nine states was necessary. The Congress was very weak because:

1. It could pass laws on a few subjects, but it was *unable to enforce them*. It issued its commands *to the states*, which obeyed them or not, much as they pleased.



FIG. 88. "Signing of the Constitution of United States," a study-sketch by Rossiter. The Constitutional Convention met in the hall where the Declaration of Independence was signed. Without the Constitution, independence might have proved a sad experiment.

2. *It had no power to lay taxes.* It could only decide how much money it needed, apportion this amount among the several states, and wait for them to pay. They were so remiss in making payments that the revenues of the Confederation after the Revolution dropped to as little as \$500,000 a year. There was a great deal of trouble, also, because each state regulated commerce with other states and foreign countries in its own way. This led to disputes between states and prevented Congress from making commercial treaties with other countries. In fact, under the Confederation each state remained practically an independent power.

The Constitution. After the Revolution the United States passed through a very unhappy period. There was much poverty, and discontent was sometimes expressed in acts of violence, as in "Shays's Rebellion" in Massachusetts. The Confederation

was entirely unable to deal with the situation. There was real danger that the Union would break up and independence be lost, and *people began to see the need for a really strong central government.* In 1787 the state legislatures sent delegates to a Convention at Philadelphia to prepare amendments to the Articles of Confederation.

The Convention was presided over by George Washington, and it included the wisest men of the country, among them Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, and James Madison. The delegates decided to abandon the Articles of Confederation as hopeless and to draft an entirely new *Constitution.* This they did so admirably that with very little change the form of government they created for 3,000,000 people on the Atlantic seaboard now serves the needs of a nation of 110,000,000 people covering a continent. The Constitution was to become effective as soon as ratified by conventions in nine of the states. This took place in 1788, and George Washington was elected President. He was inaugurated on March 4, 1789, the ceremony taking place in New York City.

The Federal system. The new government was much stronger than the Confederation. It was given the *power to lay its own taxes and to enforce its own laws directly upon the citizen.* The Constitution of the United States was declared to be the supreme law of the land, and in its own sphere the central government was able to act quite independently of the states. The states, however, were left all the

powers not expressly granted to the United States, and these were by far the larger part of all the powers that governments ordinarily exercise.

The most significant increase in the authority of the central government was the grant to it of *power to regulate interstate and foreign commerce*, the states being forbidden to lay taxes on imports.

States-rights doctrine. Early in the history of our government the idea was advanced in different quarters that the Constitution of the United States was merely an agreement between independent states, and that a state might disregard national laws if it chose to do so. Later the doctrine was advanced that a state might even withdraw from the Union (secede). These ideas took firmest hold in the Southern states, whose interests then differed widely from the interests of the other states. Seven of them withdrew from the Union in 1860 and 1861. Four years of warfare resulted in the restoration of the Union. Everybody now agrees that we are one people and that the union of states can never be dissolved.

Implied powers. The eighth section of Article I of the Constitution gives a list of the powers granted to Congress and then declares that Congress shall have power "*to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States or any department or officer thereof.*" At the beginning of Washington's first administration Alexander

Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury, wanted to have created a bank of the United States in which government money might be deposited and which would assist the government in financial matters. He declared that Congress had an *implied power* (under the clause of the Constitution that has just been quoted) to charter the United States Bank. Thomas Jefferson contended that Congress had no implied power to create a bank because a bank was not necessary in the sense that it was indispensable. Hamilton's view was accepted by Washington, the bank was created by act of Congress, and the Supreme Court declared the act constitutional. The phrase "necessary and proper" has since been treated as if it read "necessary or proper."

Growth of the powers of the United States. Since the adoption of the Constitution *the authority of the Federal Government has increased very much, while the authority of the states has, by comparison, diminished. The growth of interstate commerce and the extension of the doctrine of implied powers have had much to do with this.*

In 1788 there was little commerce between the states. Stretches of wilderness separated most of the settlements, and transportation was slow and expensive. The fact that Congress had power to regulate commerce between the states was of little importance under such conditions. But now, with our wonderful means of transportation, *most of the articles we use are brought to us by interstate commerce—regulated by Congress.* The result is that the Federal government



U. S. A. Signal Corps

FIG. 89. Our Federal government centers in the Capitol at Washington. The building itself serves as a symbol of the nation. This photograph was taken on the night when war was declared, April 6, 1917.

now controls many matters formerly left to the states—for example, railroad rates (even between points within a state), and the preparation of foods and drugs that enter into interstate commerce.

QUESTIONS

What ideas of liberty and government did the settlers of the English colonies in America bring with them? What was the general scheme of government in the Thirteen Colonies? What was a colonial charter? What did the colonies do with regard to government when the War for Independence began? What were some of the changes from colonial government? What is a constitution? How does it differ from an ordinary law? Can you name any of the pre-Revolutionary attempts at union? What were the Articles of

Confederation? How was Congress elected? How many votes did each state have? What were the chief causes of the weakness of Congress under the Confederation? What was the Constitutional Convention of 1787? Name some of its members. What can you say of the permanency of its results? In what way was the new central government strengthened? What was the most significant increase in its powers? What is meant by "implied powers"? On what theory was the idea of the right of secession based? What effect did the war between the states have on this theory? Explain the growth in the power of the Federal government as compared with the power of the states. Give examples.

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

Study the Constitution itself. Do not try to consider matters of fine distinction, but make yourself familiar with the document in its main outlines. The Constitution is printed at the back of this book.

Each of the powers of Congress enumerated in the Constitution may be made a subject for report. The powers specifically denied the states or Congress may also be reported on. The government of any one colony furnishes a good topic.

See KIMBALL, EVERETT, *The National Government of the United States*; MUNRO, W. B., *The Government of the United States*; BEARD, C. A., *American Government and Politics*; REED, T. H., *Form and Functions of American Government*, Chapters 1 to 4 inclusive.

For the Constitution and for documents other than the Constitution of the United States see MACDONALD, W., *Charters and Other Documents Illustrative of American History*; BEARD, C. A., *Readings in American Government and Politics*. THORPE, F. N., *American Charters and Constitutions*, contains all the charters and constitutions of each of the states. The Articles of Confederation may be found in *American History Leaflets No. 7* and in Reed's *Form and Functions of American Government*.

CIVIC ACTIVITIES

An exercise commemorative of the adoption of the Constitution. This may take the form of a brief pageant or a tableau showing the scene in Independence Hall when the Constitution was signed. If such an effort is too elaborate, members of the class may recite extracts from the Constitution and from the great tributes to the Constitution by our statesmen and poets and by foreign observers like Gladstone and Bryce.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVEN

MAKING LAW

Three departments of government. The constitutions of the United States and the several states make a very clear separation between the officers or bodies that exercise legislative (law-making), executive (law-enforcing), and judicial (law-applying) powers in our government. The purpose in this is to keep supreme power from falling into the hands of one department, the better to protect our liberties. We shall consider the legislative, executive, and judicial departments of our government in order; but first we need to get a clearer idea of what laws are and how they originate.

Our laws. Laws are those rules of conduct which are enforced by the government of nation, state, or community. The earliest laws were founded on custom, and to this day *the very core of our law is based on custom expressed in the decisions of judges*. In old-time England, when the courts had decided a case based on a given state of facts, they decided all similar cases in the same way. Thus in the course of centuries a great body of "judge-made law" came to be established. This law, founded on reason and the authority of earlier cases ("precedent" or custom), is known as the *common law*. It prevails throughout the English-speaking countries, and the courts are still making law by their decisions. Other laws are made by *statute*; that is, by the action of law-making bodies such as the Congress of the United States or the state legislatures.



FIG. 90. The senate chamber of the state of Texas. There are 31 members of the Texas senate. This body is small enough for calm and thorough consideration of public measures.

The state legislature. All our state legislatures consist of two houses, a larger or lower one called the "house of representatives" or the "assembly," and an upper house called the "senate." A bill must be passed by both houses to become law. There is no difference in the power of the two houses, except that laws appropriating money or levying taxes must usually begin in the lower house. *The upper house is generally more influential than the lower house.* The term of a senator is usually four years, while that of a representative is usually two years. The members of the senate, being fewer in number, are elected from larger districts. The senate being smaller, the individual members have greater opportunity to express themselves. All these cir-

cumstances help to make the senate an abler body than the house. The legislature meets every two years in most states. In a few it meets every year. *Special sessions* may be called by the governor, and these can take up only the business that the governor specifies in his call.

The people, unfortunately, do not take enough interest in the election of state senators and representatives. Their work is of the highest importance, and it could be done a great deal better than it is now. For one thing, our legislators make too many laws and make them in too much of a hurry. It is not unusual in the larger states to have eight or nine hundred laws passed in a session lasting about one hundred days, about three fourths of them being passed in the last fifteen days. Haste makes waste in law-making as in everything else. The members of both houses receive small salaries, varying from \$1500 a year in New York and Pennsylvania to three dollars a day in Kansas and Oregon. Many people believe that a single house of thirty or forty well-paid members could do the work of state law-making more cheaply and more effectively than it is now done. Generally speaking, state legislators are fairly representative of the people. Most of them work hard and try to do what is right.

The Congress of the United States: The Senate. The Congress of the United States is likewise composed of two houses. The upper house or Senate was intended by the framers of the Constitution *to represent the states as such*. For this reason each state

was allowed two Senators. Originally these were chosen by the state legislatures; but since the adoption of the *Seventeenth Amendment* they have been elected by the people. The Senate was also intended *to serve as a protection against hasty action* following sudden changes of opinion by the people. For this reason the term of a Senator was fixed at six years, and the terms were so arranged that one third of the membership changes every two years.

The Senate has proved to be much more powerful than the House of Representatives. *Its consent is necessary to the ratification of treaties* (for this purpose a two-thirds vote is required) and *to the making of important appointments* by the President. But it is *the long senatorial term and the small size of the body* which really account for its superiority.

The House of Representatives. The House of Representatives began with sixty-five members. The Constitution provides that the number of representatives from each state shall be fixed every ten years, immediately following the census. The number of members has been steadily increased until there are now over four hundred. The House has to meet, therefore, in a very large room, so large that it is difficult for any one except a trained public speaker to be heard by the other members. *The great size of the House has made it necessary to have rules for its procedure which very greatly limit the power of the individual member.* The House of Representatives is made up of men who, on the average, will compare favorably with the English House of Commons or the

French Chamber of Deputies. There are, however, very few really great men in the House of Representatives. This is due chiefly to the fact that a man cannot become a leader in the House except by being a member of it for many years. Places on the important committees, which as we shall see do most of the work, are given on the basis of length of service.

How laws begin. Laws begin as bills (proposed laws), and each member of a legislative body may prepare and introduce them. Legislators are willing, also, to introduce bills that are prepared by private individuals or organizations.

Some of the more important bills, in which the great political parties are interested, are carefully prepared by experienced members of the legislature or by officers of the government.

Legislative reference bureaus. The bills prepared by ordinary members and by private individuals and organizations are often carelessly drawn. In this way a good many loose and ineffective laws, and some really bad ones, have been adopted. To correct this evil many states have established legislative reference bureaus. These bureaus are in charge of experts who gather material on the subjects in which members are interested and help them in the preparation of bills. This has done a great deal toward improving the quality of our laws.

The committee system. So many bills are introduced in our legislative bodies that it would be impossible to consider them all before each house. Furthermore, it is not possible for any member to

study all the bills. *Each house, therefore, is divided into committees for the consideration of different important classes of legislation.* Upon these committees the party in power always has a safe majority of members.

The committees in state legislatures are usually appointed by the presiding officer. In both the United States Senate and the House of Representatives committees are, in name, appointed by the body itself. In practice, in the Senate the majority and the minority party each hold a *caucus*. Each caucus then appoints a *Committee on Committees*, which names the members of its party that are to serve on committees of the Senate. In the House of Representatives the caucus of the majority party appoints fourteen and that of the minority seven members of the *Committee on Ways and Means*, which suggests to the House a "slate" of all the other committees.

The members of each committee are usually persons interested in the particular subject to which its attention is devoted. Thus the judiciary committee is always made up of lawyers, and the committee on agriculture, as far as possible, of farmers. Committee chairmanships and places on the more important committees usually are given to the oldest members in point of service. Each bill, as soon as it is introduced, is *referred* by the presiding officer of the house in question to the appropriate committee. The committee hears every one who is interested in the defeat or passage of the bill and finally, after



FIG. 91. A hearing before a Congressional committee. This boy, on behalf of 60,000 school children, made a plea before the House Committee of the District of Columbia for an appropriation to promote nature study in the Washington schools.

careful consideration, votes to *report* or not to report it. If the committee does not report the bill, it goes no farther; if the committee does report the bill, it stands a good chance of passage by the house.

The bill in the house. In all our legislatures bills are required to be "read three times." Before the practice of printing bills became common, these readings were actual readings. The first reading takes place when the bill is introduced, and consists simply in reading its title. It is then without debate or vote referred to a committee. After it comes from the committee it is "read" a second time and voted upon. If there are enough votes to pass it, it is read a third time and voted on once more. In most state

legislatures the second and third readings are by title only. In the national House of Representatives the second reading is in full, clause by clause, for the purpose of debate and amendment. The third reading is by title, unless a member requests that the bill be read again in full. In the national House there is also a vote on final passage.

The discussion which is given bills in legislative bodies is not very thorough. On some extremely important bills there will be a number of rather loud political speeches, but no member's opinion is likely to be influenced by them. Members of the state legislatures and of the national Congress make speeches not so much for one another as for the people who elect them. *The real consideration of legislation takes place in committee.*

The veto. After a bill has passed through both houses, it is sent to the governor or President, as the case may be, for his signature. If he does not approve of the measure, he may send it back to the house in which it originated, stating his reasons for disapproval. This is the *veto*. Once vetoed, a bill can become law only if it is passed over again, usually by a two-thirds vote (in some states by a three-fifths vote). The signature of the chief executive will not be required if a bill is passed over his veto. (In North Carolina the governor has no veto power.) Bills that reach the executive so close to the end of the session that he cannot send them back within the time allowed him for their consideration (ten days in the case of the President) he may kill, except in a few

(PUBLIC...NO. 26 57th CONGRESS.)

H. R. 2499.

Sixty-seventh Congress of the United States of America;

At the First Session,

*Began and held at the City of Washington on Monday, the eleventh day of April,
one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one.*

AN ACT

**To provide for the acquisition by the United States of private rights of fishery
in and about Pearl Harbor, Territory of Hawaii.**

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Navy is hereby authorized to examine and appraise the value of the privately owned rights of fishery in Pearl Harbor, island of Oahu, Territory of Hawaii, from an imaginary line from Kink Point to Boekehing Point, both within said harbor, to the seaward, and the privately owned rights of fishery in and about the entrance channel to said harbor, and to enter into negotiations for the purchase of the said rights and, if in his judgment the price for such rights is reasonable and satisfactory, to make contracts for the purchase of same subject to future ratification and appropriation by Congress; or in the event of the inability of the Secretary of the Navy to make a satisfactory contract for the voluntary purchase of the said rights of fishery, he is hereby authorized and directed through the Attorney General to institute and carry to completion proceedings for the condemnation of said rights of fishery, the acceptance of the award in said proceedings to be subject to the future ratification and appropriation by Congress. Such condemnation proceedings shall be instituted and conducted in, and jurisdiction of said proceedings is hereby given to, the district court of the United States for the district of Hawaii, substantially as provided in "An Act to authorize condemnation of land for sites for public buildings, and for other purposes," approved August 1, 1898; and the sum of \$5,000 is hereby authorized to be appropriated, to be immediately and continuously available until expended, to pay the necessary costs thereof and expenses in connection therewith. The Secretary of the Navy is further authorized and directed to report the proceedings hereunder to Congress.

Approved
June 27, 1921
Thomas G. Harding

Speaker of the House of Representatives,
Charles D. Hughes
Vice President of the United States and
President of the Senate.

FIG. 92. An act of Congress as it appears of record. Observe the signatures of the Speaker of the House of Representatives and of the Vice President, which show that the bill passed each house, and the approval of the President, which finally made the bill law.

states, by simply neglecting to sign them. This is known as the *pocket veto*. In many states the governor has thirty days after the adjournment of the legislature, in which to make up his mind on bills. The veto power has in recent years been very much used both in national and state affairs.

QUESTIONS

What is a law? Describe the part courts play in making laws. What is meant by "law-making bodies"? How many houses are there in a state legislature? Is there any difference in their powers? in their influence? What was the United States Senate intended to represent? Why is the Senate more powerful than the House of Representatives? What difficulties does the large size of the House of Representatives present? How is a law proposed? Explain the importance of the committee system. How are committees appointed in state legislatures? in Congress? What is meant by the "three readings" of a bill? What is the veto? What is a pocket veto?

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

The personnel of legislative bodies. The teacher may assign to each member of the class the duty of examining the biography of a number of members of the legislature or of the Congress of the United States. Such biographies can be obtained from the Congressional Directory and from a similar book published in most states and obtainable from the secretary of state. The results may be tabulated so as to show the occupation, education, and previous political experience of the members of each body.

The organization and procedure of the legislature of your own state and of the Congress of the United States may be divided into a number of topics. The use of the veto in your own state and in the national government are excellent topics. See MUNRO, W. B., *Government of the United States*; KIMBALL, EVERETT, *The National Government of the United States*; BEARD, C. A., *American Government and Politics*; MCCALL, S. W., *The Business of Congress*; REED, T. H., *Form and Functions of American Government*, Chapters 11, 12, 21, and 22. Tables showing terms of state legislatures and salaries of members, etc., may be found in the *World Almanac*. See also the *American Year Book*.

CIVIC ACTIVITIES

The class organization should now be turned into a legislative body. By using copies of bills, files, and journals, which can usually be obtained from the secretary of state at your state capital, the class can be made to grasp concretely what the text necessarily describes so generally.

A visit to the state legislature, if it is in session, will be found to repay even a considerable journey. If such a visit is impracticable, do not forget that city councils, county boards, and boards of education are legislative bodies, and that their procedure is essentially the same as that of the larger bodies. A talk on legislative methods and procedure by a present or former member of the state legislature will be helpful.

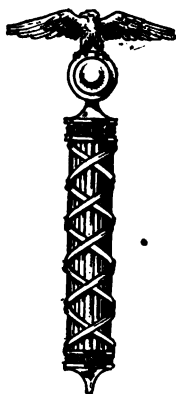


FIG. 93. The mace, the symbol of authority in the national House of Representatives. In the hands of the sergeant-at-arms of the House it indicates that he is prepared to use force to restore order.

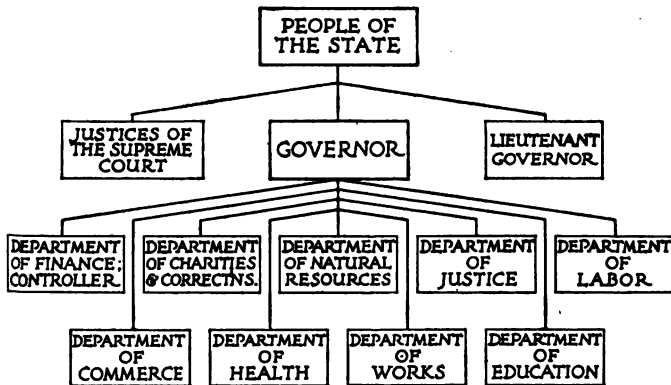
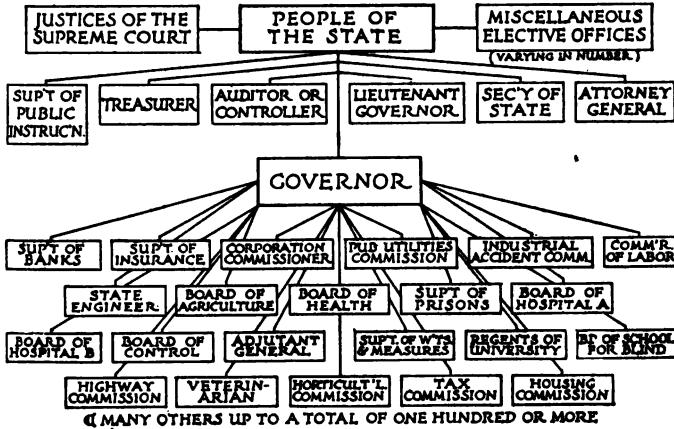
CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT

CARRYING OUT THE LAW

The executive. Laws of themselves are ineffective. There must be some machinery for carrying them out. The courts interpret and apply the law; but the decisions of courts cannot be effective unless there is back of them the *force* of government. *This force is commanded by the executive.* The President of the United States is the commander-in-chief of our army and navy. Similarly, the governor of a state controls its militia. The management and direction of all the activities of government, from conducting a war down to cleaning our streets, is the work of the executive.

The state executive. The principal state executive is the governor. He is elected by the people and has a great deal of influence and prestige because, in the state government, *he is the representative of the people as a whole.* Several important branches of executive power, however, are not under his control at all but are directed by officers who are also elected by the people, such as the secretary of state, the state treasurer, the auditor or controller, and the attorney-general.

Our states maintain a great many public institutions such as universities, normal schools, hospitals for the insane, prisons, and reformatories. They regulate public utilities, banks, insurance companies, and building and loan associations; and in recent years they have undertaken, among other things, to promote agriculture and forestry, to study the prob-



Figs. 94 and 95. State government as it is, and a suggestion for its organization in a more rational manner.

lems of labor, and to provide pensions for mothers. The governor appoints and removes the heads of the hundred or more departments and institutions (often with the advice and consent of the state senate). But the *departments are so numerous that*

he cannot really supervise them, and there are no officers who stand between the governor and the departments. Consequently, the executive side of state government is like an army with a general and a lot of captains but with no majors, colonels, or staff officers between them (Figs. 94 and 95).

The President—Electors. The chief executive of the United States is, of course, the President. He is elected by the people, not directly, but through *electors* who are voted for in each state. Each state has as many electors as it has Representatives and Senators in Congress. The electors exercise no freedom of choice but are pledged in advance to vote for a particular candidate for President. Each party puts up a list of them, and practically every voter votes for the whole list of his party. It has happened and may happen again that one candidate got a majority of the electoral votes while another got a majority of the popular vote. In 1888 Harrison was elected President, although Grover Cleveland had 98,000 more popular votes. It is very much more important to carry New York by a thousand votes than it is to carry Vermont by fifty thousand. This has led political parties usually to nominate their candidates for President from large "doubtful states" like New York and Ohio, where the parties are about equally divided.

Election of a President. Candidates for the presidency are nominated by the great political parties by means of national conventions. To these national conventions the members of the party in each state

send delegates. The delegates are selected either by conventions or, as in several states, by a presidential preference primary. They assemble in a great hall and nominate candidates for President and Vice-President and adopt a party platform (declaration of principles). Much more attention is paid to the declarations that are made by the candidate himself—his “speech of acceptance” and other addresses—than to the party platform.

The period before a presidential election is always a time of great excitement; political meetings are held all over the country, and sometimes the struggle becomes very bitter. But when the result of the voting has been announced, the defeated party at once settles down to wait for another chance four years later. There is something very fine in the good sportsmanship which is shown by the losing side in our elections.

Powers of the President. The President is in fact as well as in name the *head of the executive department* of our national government. He does not divide his power with other elective officers as the governor does. Furthermore, the executive department is so organized as to give him effective control over all its branches. Immediately below the President come the members of his *Cabinet*. Each of them is the head of one of the great departments into which the work of administration is divided. These departments are as follows: State, Treasury, War, Justice, Post Office, Navy, Interior, Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor. The President meets with the Cabinet



FIG. 96. President Harding reading his first message to Congress in the hall of the House of Representatives.

every week for consultation regarding the policies of the government. Below each Cabinet member come a series of divisions, bureaus, and offices so arranged as to give the President, through his Cabinet officers, complete control.

The President by his power of *presenting messages* to Congress and by his power of *veto* has a very large share in law-making. So long as his party has a majority in both houses, his prestige as *the representative of all the people* is so overwhelming that a vigorous President is able to guide the action of Congress. But when his party ceases to have control of either house of Congress, there is likely to be much bickering and little achievement.

Position of the President. The President occupies the greatest position in the gift of the people of this country. He holds no court as do kings. He dresses and lives like an ordinary American citizen, and when his term of office is over he slips back into the ranks of his fellow countrymen. Nevertheless, every good man and woman in the United States regards the President with a respect that is, if anything, greater than that shown to a king by his subjects. Even those who disagree with him most pay him the respect that is due his office as the representative of the people.

QUESTIONS

What department commands the force of government? Why is its help necessary to make court decisions effective? What is the distinction between legislation and administration? What weaknesses are there in the position of the governor as state executive? How would the short-ballot principle work if applied in the cases of

state officers other than governor? How is the President of the United States elected? What is the practical effect of this system? What is a national convention? How does the losing side behave after an election? What makes the position of the President so very important? Say what you can of the organization of the executive side of the national government. What is the President's Cabinet? Explain the influence of the President over Congress.

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

The National Convention of any party; a party platform; the presidential campaign; the biographies of any of our greater Presidents; relations of the President to Congress. A report on each of the executive departments of your state government or of the national government will be very helpful.

On conventions and other matters relating to presidential elections see MUNRO, W. B., *Government of the United States*; BEARD, C. A., *American Government and Politics*; BRYCE, JAMES, *The American Commonwealth*; RAY, P. O., *Introduction to Political Parties and Practical Politics*; JOHNSTON, ALEXANDER, *American Politics*. On the powers of the President, in addition to Munro, Beard, and Bryce, see HASKIN, F. J., *The American Government*; TAFT, WM. H., *Our Chief Magistrate and His Powers* and *The Presidency: Its Duties, Its Powers, Its Opportunities, and Its Limitations*. On the executive departments of the national government see HASKIN, F. J., *The American Government*; and *Cyclopædia of American Government* (consult under name of each department). On the governor and state administration, besides Beard, Munro, and Bryce, see REINSCH, P. S., *Readings on American State Government*, and REED, T. H., *Government for the People*. On all these subjects more extensive reading suggestions may be found in REED's *Form and Functions of American Government*.

CIVIC ACTIVITIES

Appoint a committee to introduce in the class, organized as a legislative body, a proposal for a brief amendment to the state constitution. Let the amendment provide for the grouping of the various executive departments, the head of each department to be a Cabinet member under the governor. Let the committee prepare charts of the organization of the state executive as existing and as reorganized under the proposed amendment.



CHAPTER TWENTY-NINE

INTERPRETING AND APPLYING THE LAW

Courts. Our Constitution, as we have seen, carefully distinguishes and separates legislative, executive, and judicial power. An early king, however, was legislator, executive, and judge. His decree became a part of the law; he commanded the soldiers through whom law was enforced; and he sat in the gateway of his city or palace to apply it—to *settle disputes* and to order the *punishment* of offenders.

When a king's duties as judge came to be burdensome, he appointed lesser judges to hear all but the greatest cases. Then a *system of courts* developed in place of the single court of the king. But men were allowed, under proper circumstances, to *appeal* from the decision of a minor judge to a higher judge, and finally to the king. Courts are so arranged today.

Civil and criminal cases. Often there is a dispute between individuals concerning their *rights under the law* or concerning the *facts* that affect their rights. Either of the parties may bring the dispute into court for settlement. The court hears the *plaintiff* or "complainant" and the *defendant*, and their witnesses. It then decides which party is right under the law and gives or refuses to give the *damages or other relief* asked for. Such cases are known as *civil cases*.

Persons charged with crime are also brought before the courts, and they are there given fair trials. If a court finds them guilty, it fixes punishment in accordance with law; if it finds them innocent, it sets them free. Such cases are known as *criminal cases*.

Rights which the law protects. There are three great rights which the law and the courts must protect. The first is the *right of personal safety*. If any one does you bodily injury, either intentionally or carelessly, you can demand payment for damages from him. The second is the *right of property*. If any one by force or fraud, or even by mistake, takes or injures your land or your goods, or in any other way causes you to suffer personal injury in a right that has money value, you may bring an action in court for the payment of money damages or for the restoration of particular property.

The third right that the courts will enforce is the *right of contract*. If any one in return for some valuable article or service that you have given him promises to give something to you or do something for your benefit, you can *recover the amount of the damage* that his failure to keep the contract causes you. But that is not all. *The courts will, in a proper case, make a party actually do what in justice he ought to do.*

Crimes and their punishment. There are acts that are regarded as *offenses against the community itself*, even though they are directed against individuals. Murder, robbery, counterfeiting, and arson, if unchecked, would reduce the country to ruin. Therefore the law provides severe punishments for such acts (crimes). It will not allow the injured party or his family or friends to let a criminal off by forgiving him. Such matters are not private affairs. The community's interest comes first.



FIG. 97. A courtroom scene. The young woman seated at the table is being tried on a criminal charge.

Sometimes, when a shocking crime has taken place, a mob lynches the person suspected of committing it. Lynching is murder. It murders not only its human victim but the law itself. The principle that no one can be punished for a crime except after a fair trial is one of the fundamentals of American liberty.

Trial courts. In each state there is a system of courts for the trial of civil and criminal cases of every description. These systems of courts differ somewhat in details. In most states each town or township has a *justice court* presided over by a justice of the peace elected by the people. This court has power to try civil cases involving not more than a few hundred dollars and the less serious criminal cases known as *misdemeanors*. A person dissatisfied with the deci-

sion in a justice court may question this decision before a higher court (appeal his case).

For the trial of the more important civil and criminal cases there is in some states a court for each county. In several states the district may be larger than a single county. In a few states, like New York, there is one court for the county and one for a larger district, the most important cases being reserved for the latter.

The jury. Every person accused of crime is entitled to *trial by jury*, and in most civil cases juries are employed.

In securing a jury, a list of persons (panel) is summoned to appear at the time set for the trial. From their number twelve are selected by lot. Either party to a case can cause the rejection of a person so selected by showing that he might not be fair-minded. Either party can also reject a number of jurors without giving any reason. It is the duty of the jury, after listening to the evidence, to decide the facts of a case. The judge instructs the jury on the law of the case. In criminal cases the decision must be unanimous. Several states now provide for decision of civil cases by less than a unanimous vote,—usually three fourths,—and one or two states provide for an *alternate juror* to take the place of one of the twelve jurors should one fall ill.

Jury duty is not very pleasant, and some cases take a long time to try. In a great murder case the jury may be kept together, with no chance to go home, for several weeks. Many of the really intelligent, busy

people of the community manage to get excused from jury duty. If this duty is left to idle, uneducated people, the jury system becomes very unsatisfactory. It must, however, be maintained, because it is one of our chief safeguards against possible tyranny. *Few duties of the citizen are more important than jury duty.*

Judges. Judges are usually elected by the people, but in some states they are appointed by the governor. Except for justices of the peace, they are always lawyers. They are almost always honest and fair-minded men, who feel keenly the sacredness of their duty. *There is a good deal of difference of opinion as to whether they should be elected or appointed.* It is generally admitted that the salaries of trial judges are too low. Long terms and good salaries help to make judgeships attractive to good lawyers.

Lawyers and trials. Our system of trying cases would not work at all without lawyers. They are, of course, paid by the parties whom they represent, but they are, nevertheless, *really officers of the court.* A trial is a kind of debate between the plaintiff and the defendant or between the *state* and the *accused.* *Each side is supposed to try, honorably, to present its case in the most favorable light.* The attorney for the plaintiff or the district attorney opens the trial with a statement of the case of his client. He then calls the witnesses for his side. Witnesses can testify only in answer to questions. When the attorney for the plaintiff has finished questioning each of his witnesses, the attorney for the defendant "cross-examines" him. A clever cross-examiner can make it very

uncomfortable for a witness who tries to conceal the truth. When the witnesses for the plaintiff have all been examined, the attorney for the defendant states his case and calls his witnesses. When he is through, the attorney on each side argues his case to the jury. Out of this contest comes the truth. A criminal case is conducted much the same as a civil case, the public being regarded as the plaintiff.

Many a case that gets into court might have been settled between the parties themselves, if either one or both of them had been well advised. A large part of the work of lawyers consists in advising their clients *how to keep out of court*. The lawyer's profession is a very noble one if he wishes to make it so.

The grand jury. When a person is arrested for a serious crime, he is first "arraigned" before a justice of the peace (or police judge), who if he believes there is sufficient evidence to justify the charge sends the accused back to jail. Except in murder cases the accused may be released on *bail*. This consists of money or of a bond made secure by the signatures of men of property. A bond provides that a specified sum of money will be forfeited to the state if the accused does not appear when wanted. The evidence against him is then, in most states, presented to the *grand jury* for preliminary investigation. This body consists of from twelve to twenty-three persons more carefully selected than trial jurors ordinarily are. If the grand jury believes there is probable cause of guilt, it returns a *true bill* or *indictment*. It also investigates on its own initiative any matter within

the county about which there is a suggestion of crime. Particularly, the grand jury goes over the work of all county and other public officers, and if it finds anything wrong calls attention to the matter in its report. If there has been grafting, it indicts the guilty official. The grand jury, therefore, is a very important means of preventing bad government.

In some states the district attorney decides whether or not to prosecute without action by a grand jury.

Courts of appeal. There is in each state a highest court, which is usually known as the *supreme court*, though it is sometimes called the "court of errors" or the "appellate court." This court has the last word on all questions of *law* that are made the subject of appeal from the decisions of lower courts. (The *facts* are finally settled in the lower courts.) Sometimes there are lesser courts of appeal between the trial court and the highest state court. Courts of appeal consist of several judges, all of whom may take part in rendering the decision. Supreme-court and other appellate judges are usually elected by the people, but the terms are long and reelection is very common. The position of a supreme-court judge is a very dignified and honorable one.

The Federal courts. The Constitution and laws of the United States being the supreme law of the land, it is the duty of state courts to apply them in every case where they are involved. The United States, however, does not depend entirely upon the state courts. Any case arising under the Constitution, laws, or treaties of the United States may be

*Harris & Ewing***FIG. 98. The justices of the Supreme Court.**

L. D. Brandeis M. Pitney J. C. McReynolds J. H. Clarke
 W. R. Day J. McKenna W. H. Taft O. W. Holmes W. Van Devanter

begun in the Federal courts by the plaintiff, as may any case between citizens of different states; or the defendant may have any such case transferred from a state court to the proper Federal court. Admiralty cases—that is, cases involving navigation—are always tried in the Federal courts.

The lowest United States court is known as the *district court*. It is the trial court for practically all Federal cases. There is at least one such court in each state. For each United States district court there is a *district judge* (or more than one), a *district attorney*, and a *United States marshal*. The latter is an officer corresponding to the sheriff.

Above the district court comes the *United States circuit court of appeals*, and its decision is final in all cases except those involving extremely important matters. (There are nine United States circuit courts of appeals.)

The Supreme Court of the United States stands at the head of the judicial branch of our government. It consists of a chief justice and eight associate justices. It is our highest court of appeals, and it has the final word in every case whose settlement requires an interpretation of the Constitution of the United States.

The judges of all United States courts are appointed by the President for life and, like the President, can be removed only on *impeachment* and conviction. An impeachment is begun by resolution of the House of Representatives, and trial takes place before the Senate.

The Supreme Court and the Constitution. The Supreme Court is the chief guardian of the Constitution of the United States. It has repeatedly held that an act of Congress in violation of the Constitution simply did not become law. It does not hesitate to declare provisions of state constitutions or state statutes void if they conflict with the Constitution. If a state court upholds a state law as against the Constitution, an appeal may be taken to the Supreme Court. Furthermore, the Supreme Court exercises the power to compel a state court to transfer to it any case involving the Constitution. There is, therefore, no danger that the Constitution of the United States may mean one thing in one state and another in another, or that the local sentiment of a state may affect the interpretation of the national Constitution. *Such a power as is possessed by the Supreme Court is absolutely necessary to safeguard the Constitution and to prevent the confusion that would arise through conflicting decisions in the courts of different states.*

Respect for law. We have already seen that obedience to law is one of the principal duties of a citizen. Respect for the law and for the courts which apply it is absolutely necessary to the peace and good order of our country. If laws are bad, they should be repealed or amended. If judges are corrupt, they should be replaced by honest men. The means for doing this is in the hands of the people. The final responsibility for bad laws or bad judges rests with them.

QUESTIONS

Explain the importance of having courts. What is the difference between a civil and a criminal case? What three great rights does the law protect? What remedies do the courts give for injury to these rights? What is a crime? Why does the law punish criminals? Why is lynching murder? What is its effect upon law? What is a jury? What is the part of the judge in a trial? How are state judges chosen? Explain the part of the lawyer at a trial. Describe the duties of the grand jury. What are courts of appeal? Why does the United States have courts separate from those of the states? Name the Federal courts. How do Federal judges obtain their positions, and for what period may they hold them? Explain the relation of the United States Supreme Court to the Constitution. State why respect for law is so important.

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

The judicial organization of your own state should be the subject of several topics. See BEARD, C. A., *American Government and Politics*; MUNRO, W. B., *The Government of the United States*; REINSCH, P. S., *Readings on American State Government*; BRYCE, JAMES, *The American Commonwealth*; WILSON, WOODROW, *Constitutional government in the United States*; REED, T. H., *Form and Functions of American Government*, Chapter 13.

On the actual working of trials see WELLMAN, F. L., *The Art of Cross Examination and A Day in Court*; TRAIN, ARTHUR, *Courts, Criminals, and the Camorra*.

CIVIC ACTIVITIES

Visit a court actually engaged in trying a case. A mock trial in which the essential features of court procedure are observed will be interesting and profitable. It will not be difficult to get the assistance of a lawyer, whom some member of the class may know, to act as adviser in planning the trial.

CHAPTER THIRTY

TERRITORIES AND DEPENDENCIES—THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The Ordinance of 1787. The United States has always had under its control lands and peoples not comprised within the limits of any state. The first territory to be organized was the Northwest Territory, lying west of the Alleghenies and north of the Ohio River. The Congress of the Confederation in 1787 passed an Ordinance for the government of this territory, which has been *a model for territorial government* ever since. This ordinance provided that the territory should have a governor, a secretary, and three judges, to be appointed by the central government; also that as soon as the population had increased sufficiently there should be established an elective territorial legislature. It further guaranteed to the people of the territory religious freedom, the privilege of habeas corpus, and trial by jury.

Attitude toward territorial government. For nearly a century, as our people pushed westward, territory after territory was organized. Only two of the Western states, Texas and California, came into the Union without having been organized as territories. *Territorial government was regarded merely as a preparation for statehood*, and for this reason the people were willing to submit to a government in which their governor and judges were appointed by the President. Of course, in territories that had been organized for any length of time the people chose their own legislatures. The entire area of the United

States on the continent of North America, except Alaska, has now been made into states.

Later expansion. It is only since the purchase of Alaska in 1867 that the United States has come to exercise authority over distant lands. Hawaii was annexed in 1898. Alaska and Hawaii are governed as territories. As a result of the war with Spain the United States acquired Porto Rico, the Philippines, and Guam. In 1900 we obtained possession of Tutuila, one of the Samoan Islands. In 1904 the Canal Zone became essentially a part of the United States. In 1914 we bought the Virgin Islands from Denmark, the people voting in favor of the change in sovereignty.

Porto Rico. In Porto Rico *the governor is appointed by the President*, and he in turn appoints the heads of most of the *executive departments*. The *two houses* of the legislature are elected by the people. The governor has a *veto* which may be overcome by a two-thirds vote of both houses. All laws passed over his veto must be submitted to Washington, where the President has the power to annul them. The people of Porto Rico elect one *delegate* to our House of Representatives, who, however, has no vote. In 1898 practically all the people of Porto Rico spoke Spanish. The American government has installed a splendid system of public schools for the island, and *its people are being trained in the English language and in democratic ideas, and are being prepared to take charge of their own government*.



Philippine Press Bureau
FIG. 99. The first Philippine Assembly. Ever since its establishment, the Philippine legislature has made generous appropriations for education. Contrary to the opinion of many Americans, the government of the Islands is self-supporting.

Philippine Islands. The Philippine Islands are a very large archipelago inhabited by a number of nearly related groups of Malayan people. In the Philippines, as in Porto Rico, the greatest achievement under the American government has been the establishment of an admirable system of schools. We have recognized that there is no way in which a people can be prepared for freedom so well as by education. In the Philippines there is a *governor-general appointed by the President*. He appoints the heads of the *executive departments* (except the Insular auditor, who is appointed by the President). The governor-general possesses a *velo power* which the legislature cannot override without the approval of the President. The *senate* consists of twenty-four members elected by the people and two (from non-Christian districts) appointed by the governor-general. The *lower house* is made up of eighty-one elected and nine appointed members. Two *delegates* from the Philippines, without votes, sit in the House of Representatives at Washington. The actual direction of affairs in the Philippines has latterly rested largely with a *Council of State* consisting of the heads of departments and the presiding officers of the two houses. They are all Filipinos and belong to the majority party in the legislature. In this way the people have been given a form of self-government.

In Tutuila the government is in the hands of a naval officer appointed by the Secretary of the Navy. The same system exists in Guam and in several

*U. S. N. Official Photograph*

FIG. 100. The naval governor of Samoa, and some of the people over whom he rules in the name of the United States.

very small islands that we hold in the Pacific. The Virgin Islands also are under the care of the Navy Department.

Among the important questions before the American people today are those concerning the disposition of some of our dependencies, particularly of the Philippines. Our government is founded upon the idea that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. How can it, then, consistently rule over subject peoples? Such dependencies, however, came to us in a way that did not permit us to avoid caring for them. *To turn them adrift before they were prepared to govern themselves would be to shirk our clear duty.*

The District of Columbia. The founders of our government thought that it would be *unwise for the capital of the United States to be within the territory of any state*. They, therefore, provided in the Constitution for a Federal district in which there should be no authority except that of the United States. This district was created by the cession from Virginia and Maryland of a piece of territory ten miles square lying on both banks of the Potomac. The lower portion of the original district was afterward given back to Virginia, so that the present District of Columbia represents only the cession from Maryland. Its laws are made and its taxes are levied by Congress itself. The carrying out of these laws is left to a *commission of three members appointed by the President*, each of whom has charge of a group of departments of the government. The people living within the District have no voice in even their local affairs and cannot vote for President of the United States or for members of Congress. They are not satisfied with this situation, and there is a movement on foot to have it remedied.

QUESTIONS

What was the Northwest Territory? Tell about the Ordinance of 1787. What is the difference between the old expansion of the United States and the expansion since 1867? What form of government have Alaska and Hawaii? Describe the government of Porto Rico. Describe the government of the Philippine Islands. How are Guam, the Virgin Islands, and Tutuila governed? Why is the question of the disposition of some of our dependencies a difficult one? How was the District of Columbia formed? Describe its government.

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

Your own state's history before it became a state. The several dependencies: their geography, people, history, and government. There is a dearth of up-to-date books on the government of our dependencies, but there is a good deal of magazine literature on the subject. See KIMBALL, EVERETT, *The National Government of the United States*; REED, T. H., *Form and Functions of American Government*, Chapter 26.

CIVIC ACTIVITIES

The following subject will be an excellent one for debate in your legislatively organized class: *Resolved*, That the United States should within one year grant complete independence to the Philippine Islands.

PART FIVE
SOME PROBLEMS OF LARGER CITIZENSHIP
Coöperation for the Common Good

My city and country, so far as I am
Antoninus, is Rome, but so far as I am a
man, it is the world.

MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS

CHAPTER THIRTY-ONE

PROBLEMS OF LABOR

The marketability of labor. If a farmer with a thousand bushels of wheat to sell cannot get what he considers a fair price for it, he may hold it for a better market. If he sells his wheat six weeks later, even for the price originally offered, his loss will be but slight: there will be the loss of interest for six weeks, and perhaps a little shrinkage in the grain. A worker, however, who holds back his labor suffers a total loss of wages. Labor not used can never be recovered, and few workers have money savings that will enable them to remain long unemployed without suffering. Consequently, the individual worker cannot bargain with an employer for wages as a trader can bargain with his customers. Unless there is an actual shortage of the kind of labor he can perform, the laborer must—in a free labor market—accept the terms that are offered him. This is peculiarly true of the least skilled workers. The individual worker in a shoe factory who is trained only to fasten on heels is helpless, because there are relatively few places that demand his special services.

Unions. The weakness of workers in bargaining as individuals has led to the formation of “unions” through which workers may bargain collectively or as a unit. It makes little difference to a large employer if a single worker quits because the wages, hours, or working conditions do not satisfy him. If, however, all his employees quit at once, it is a

different matter. He may have orders to fill which if not filled will mean great loss, perhaps ruin, to him. He may have on hand partly worked or perishable materials which will be wasted if the factory must shut down. Such concerted quitting is called a *strike*, and it is the commonest weapon of *organized labor*.

The earliest unions were *associations of men of the same craft or trade*. Such associations are still the usual form of union in the United States. The *local unions* in each trade are united with all the other locals in the same trade in great *national organizations* like the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. All the unions in a city usually are represented in a *central labor council* which looks out for common union interests in the city. Most of the trades are united in the *American Federation of Labor*, or, like the railway brotherhoods, work in harmony with it.

Some progress has been made in recent years in organizing all workers, especially the unskilled, in unions for each industry irrespective of the trade or kind of work of each man. These *industrial unions* are much more radical than the trades unions. They are not generally affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Most radical is the movement which proposes to organize all *workers* in "one big union." Its object is the overthrow of our government and social order by a general strike or other violent means.

Unions and labor monopoly. The trades unions



Cartoon by J. N. Darling

FIG. 101. When capital and labor quarrel both suffer,
and so does the whole community.

are always trying to get a monopoly of the supply of labor in their respective trades. To this end they sometimes limit the number of apprentices (boys who are to learn the trade), and they often demand that none but union men be employed in their trade. When they succeed in excluding non-union men altogether, we speak of the trade as one in which *closed shop* conditions exist. Many employers deny the right of the unions to insist upon the closed shop. *They say that employers have the right to hire whom they please and that a worker has a right to*

join a union or not as he pleases. This is perfectly true and is in entire accordance with the principles of liberty we have discussed before. *On the other hand, the union man has an undoubted right to refuse to work in the same shop with non-union men.* This problem, like many others, *cannot be solved by insistence on rights.* It can only be worked out in a spirit of coöperation for the common good (Fig. 101).

Keeping up production. *The purpose of the partnership of labor and capital is production.* This fundamental fact should never be lost sight of in considering the labor problem. With the efforts of organized labor to get good wages, reasonable hours of work, and wholesome and sanitary surroundings, every one should sympathize. All these things should aid rather than hinder production. Better living conditions for workers promote health, education, and greater efficiency.

Unions sometimes make rules to limit the amount of work a man shall do in a day. Their usual explanation for such action is that the employer is trying to force work at a speed injurious to the worker—a wrong that sometimes exists. Occasionally, however, the limit placed by the union rule is far below what a normal man might well be able to do. Further, by defending lazy and incapable union men from discharge, the unions sometimes encourage slack work. That is not playing fair. Furthermore, the workers themselves cannot escape the effects of under-production and the high prices that it necessarily causes. There are not nearly enough good

things produced to meet the wants of all of us. *Of the total of good things that are produced, the workers, as a whole, get by far the larger share. Increased production, then, means greater comfort for all, and especially for the workers.*

Government and labor disputes. The duty of government with regard to a dispute among its people is *to keep the peace and to prevent a resort to violence or any unfair practice by either party.* In the case of disputes between capital and labor, it has not been very successful in fulfilling that duty. Actual violence is usually checked before it has been carried very far. If the municipal or county authorities cannot keep order, the governor may send state troops, and if these fail, United States troops may be brought in. The law in many states forbids strikers from *picketing*—that is, posting men or women about a factory or store to remonstrate with workers or customers who are on the way in. In every state an agreement by union men not to buy the goods of a particular manufacturer or merchant—the *boycott*—is illegal.

Such negative interference with labor disputes has done little to lessen their number or bitterness; rather the contrary, because the interference usually lessens the chance of success of the union men and, as a result, arouses their resentment. Suppose your father and a neighbor had a dispute over the location of a fence between their two places. They would not be allowed to fight it out on the front lawn, but the law would permit them to be heard in

court and to have a just decision. Because there is provision for settling disputes between individuals, there is much less temptation for them to break the peace. Just so, some more practicable means of settling disputes between the groups of labor and capital will have to be worked out, before we can effectively protect the public from the deplorable results of their quarreling. The most interesting attempt in this direction has been in Kansas, where the law requires that labor disputes be submitted to an Industrial Court.

Child labor. Every one recognizes that the protection of the law should in justice be thrown around those who cannot protect themselves. Chief among these are the children. There is a further reason for protecting them in the fact that their health, education, and character determine the future of our country. It does not hurt children to work; in fact, children who have some regular work outside of school hours are the better for it. But keeping a child at hard or confining work during many hours a day is destructive of his health and interferes seriously with his chance to get an education. *Many states have adopted laws that forbid the labor of children in factories, shops, mines, and stores until they are old enough at least to have finished grammar school. Such laws should exist in all states.*

Other labor legislation. For the further protection of women and children in industry, most of our states have enacted laws *limiting their hours of labor*, providing for the establishment of a *minimum wage*,



Edwin Marcus in New York Times

FIG. 102. In spite of obstacles, there is a growing tendency toward mutual respect between capital and labor.

and prescribing *sanitary regulations* for places of employment. Laws have also been passed fixing the time and method for *payment of wages*, requiring *safety appliances* to be used about machinery, and protecting workers in general. Labor legislation should be carefully planned and worked out so as to protect the worker and at the same time preserve, as far as possible, the liberty of the employer.

Workmen's compensation. Accidents are bound to occur in the conduct of any industry, their number varying with the nature of the industry itself. Some industries have few accidents; but others, like railroading and the building of steel skyscrapers,

have a great many. Formerly, if an employee were injured he could recover from his employer only by an action at law in which he had to prove the employer's fault and the absence of fault on his own part. Now, in many of our states the employer must pay compensation in a moderate amount irrespective of the fault of the parties. There is also a Federal Employers' Liability Law providing compensation on account of accidents to employees of interstate railroads. Such laws have been enacted because it is considered that the injuries are incident to the industry, and that the employer ought to care for broken lives as well as replace broken machinery. Employers were at first bitterly opposed to the establishment of workmen's compensation, but they now generally accept it as reasonable and just.

QUESTIONS

What becomes of unused labor? What effect would a reserve of savings have upon the position of a worker bargaining to get the best pay for his labor? Can you give examples? How do unions assist workers in bargaining? What are trades unions? How are they organized? What is the American Federation of Labor? What are industrial unions? How do unions seek to increase their monopoly of labor? What is the closed shop? What is the employer's argument against it? What are the rights involved? What is the object to which the united efforts of labor and capital should be directed? What effects may higher wages and shorter hours have? What can be said in favor of setting a low limit on what a worker may do? What can be said against it? In what ways does government interfere in disputes between labor and capital? What has such interference accomplished? Under what conditions is work bad for children? What are the results? What is done to regulate or prevent child labor? What other laws for the benefit of women and children

workers can you mention? for workers in general? What is the duty of government in the matter of labor legislation? Explain "workmen's compensation."

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

The child-labor and other labor laws of your own state, and the authorities specially charged with carrying them out.

Reports may be profitably made on the history of local strikes or on the organization of the central labor council of your city. Interviews with union leaders and employers on the closed or the open shop and on limitation of output will prove interesting.

See ELY AND WICKER and other standard economics texts; BOGART, E. L., *The Economic History of the United States*; COMMONS AND ANDREWS, *Principles of Labor Legislation*; MITCHELL, JOHN, *Organized Labor*; BEARD, C. A., *American Government and Politics*; CARLTON, T. T., *History and Problems of Organized Labor*; REED, T. H., *Form and Functions of American Government*, Chapter 37.

CIVIC ACTIVITIES

A visit to a meeting of the central labor council of your city. A debate on the Closed or the Open Shop, on Compulsory Arbitration, or on the Kansas Industrial Court. Addresses on succeeding days by a labor-union official and an employer (care should be exercised to select moderate men).

CHAPTER THIRTY-TWO

THE CARE OF DELINQUENTS AND DEFECTIVES

Public charges. One of the most burdensome duties of government, local, state, and Federal, is that of caring for criminal, feeble-minded, insane, and otherwise helpless or defective individuals. Here are people who will not or cannot help to carry the load of life, but themselves have to be carried. Many of them if unrestrained would be very dangerous to the rest of us. Socially speaking, criminality, feeble-mindedness, and insanity are all the result of the same causes. *Drink, immorality, bad food, and bad living conditions produce diseases of mind and body. A powerful factor in accounting for delinquency is bad heredity.*

Criminals. Most persons who commit crime do so because they have not the intelligence or strength of will to conduct themselves as they should. Nevertheless, it is necessary for the protection of the community that crime be punished. The fear of punishment has a wholesome effect in keeping criminally disposed people from breaking the law. There is, however, no more reason for feeling revengeful toward criminals than toward insane persons; both are defective. *We should keep habitual criminals in prison in order that they may not harm law-abiding citizens.* Those who seem capable of reform should be given another chance in life; but their punishment should be sufficient to serve as a warning to others who may be tempted to break the law.

Prisons and reformatories. Only a few years ago all persons convicted of serious crimes were sent to prison, irrespective of age or other condition. There the young and comparatively innocent were corrupted by having to associate with hardened criminals. Now only adult wrongdoers go to prison. Young persons are sent to *reformatories* or "reform schools." In some states such adult offenders as are not confirmed criminals are sent to special institutions. But even the best of our reformatories often prove to be schools of crime.

Probation. Wise judges, therefore, hesitate to send any one to a prison or reformatory except as a last resort. If there is a chance that a convicted person will do what is right in the future, they will, in many cases, admit him to *probation*. He then has to report frequently to the judge or to a probation officer and follow the directions given him. *The home of the offender and the conditions under which he works are studied and, if possible, improved.* By wise guidance the life of an entire family may be readjusted. It costs about ten times as much to send a man to prison for a year as to put him on probation for the same time. If he has a family, he can go on earning the family living instead of leaving his dependents to be supported by charity.

Juvenile courts. Children sometimes commit petty crimes more through mistake than through malice, and in such cases it is cruel to brand them as criminals or to make them associate with criminals. Therefore special *juvenile courts* have been created.



FIG. 103. Judge Lindsey holding court. Boys have found in the Judge a trusting and trustworthy friend. Even when he finds it necessary to order a boy to the industrial school at Golden, Colorado, the Judge sends him unattended. Very few boys have betrayed this trust.

A child, if arrested, is not confined in jail but in a detention home. He meets the judge in his office, not in a crowded courtroom; and the judge tries to help him, not to punish him. A few boys and girls do not appreciate kind treatment, but most of them do. They will be fair with the judge who is fair with them. Judge Ben Lindsey of Denver, through long experience, has proved that this is true.

The care of the insane. Less than a hundred years ago insane people were chained to the walls of mad-houses and treated with great cruelty. But in modern hospitals for the insane there are no chains.

There are carpets on the floors and curtains at the windows. The patients, except a few that are violent, go about much as they please. There is regular work for all who are capable of it. Scientific medical treatment is given those who need it. Baseball teams, bands, theatricals, and dances help to cheer the lot of the inmates. Everything is done to make their surroundings agreeable. Many get well under such circumstances. The treatment of the insane is not always as kindly and successful as it should be, but immense progress is being made.

The feeble-minded. There are many grades of feeble-mindedness. For the completely idiotic there is nothing to do but to keep them as humanely as possible. For those of more intelligence, especially the highest class of feeble-minded called *morons*, a great deal can be done. By getting them out of the ordinary schools and by patiently teaching them, they can be made useful and even self-supporting. It would be much cheaper for the state to provide supervision and work for them, as on farm colonies, than to care for them as criminals and paupers. Few states have so far awakened to that fact.

The deaf, dumb, and blind. Schools and other institutions for the deaf, dumb, and blind are maintained by most states. The effort is to give each afflicted child a training that will make him self-supporting. Similar work is being done for disabled soldiers by the national government. Such educational work is worth far more than most so-called charity.

QUESTIONS

What classes are a burden to society? How can you justify punishing criminals? What persons are sent to state prisons? to reformatories? Explain the probation system. What are the advantages of the juvenile court? Tell about the new and the old methods of dealing with the insane. Can anything be done for the feeble-minded? Explain how they should be treated. What does the state do for the deaf, dumb, and blind?

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

The institutions of your own state and locality should be studied to complete the story which the text only outlines. See BEARD, C. A., *American Government and Politics* and *American City Government*; FLEXNER AND BALDWIN, *Juvenile Courts and Probation*; HENDERSON, C. R., *Introduction to the Study of Dependent, Defective, and Delinquent Classes*; REED, T. H., *Form and Functions of American Government*, Chapters 28 and 30. *The Survey* will be very useful.

CIVIC ACTIVITIES

A talk by the judge of the juvenile court on the work of that court should be arranged for by the class.

CHAPTER THIRTY-THREE

CONSERVATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES

The meaning of conservation. Literally, *conservation* means saving or guarding anything. We speak of the conservation of health, and in physics, of energy. But the term has come to apply particularly to the saving for right use, principally through government action, of the natural resources of this country.

Land. The greatest of our natural resources is, of course, land. Our government long ago disposed of all the best of its lands that were naturally adapted to farming. This it did under the Homestead Act and earlier acts, through grants to ex-soldiers and to railroads, and by direct sales. The cultivated area of our country can now be extended chiefly by the *reclamation* of deserts and swamps and the overflow lands along our great rivers. To this end the United States Reclamation Service has built great dams, like the Arrow Rock dam in Idaho, behind which are stored the waters of the Boise River, and brought water to tens of thousands of acres. At the same time, great areas of swamp land have been drained. The problem of preventing the destructive floods which frequently occur in many river valleys, especially the Mississippi, have been studied and government aid supplied. A great deal has been done, too, by state and local governments and by private enterprise to reclaim land (Figs. 105 and 106).

Much remains to be done, as in checking the waste-



U. S. Reclamation Service

FIG. 104. The dam at Arrow Rock. The spillway, at the left, permits excess water to escape from the immense reservoir.

ful use of land by individuals. Sometimes *bad farming methods* are practiced to the ruination of the land; and *erosion* of farm lands (their washing away) is too often allowed to go on when it could easily enough be stopped. This is little short of criminal. No man should be permitted to waste the source of the living of all of us.

Wasting the forests. Much of the primeval forest of our country had to be cut away in order to make the land usable for farming. The early settlers, indeed, thought of the forest as an enemy to be conquered. The United States sold very cheaply or gave away vast tracts of timber land to private



U. S. Reclamation Service

FIG. 105. Not many years ago the Salt River country in Arizona was a desert. The Camel Back Mountains are shown in the distance.



U. S. Reclamation Service

FIG. 106. The sagebrush land shown in Figure 105 has become a vast farm as a result of the Salt River irrigation project.

persons, who in many places cut and destroyed the forests on the hillsides. Rains then washed the soil away, leaving bare rocks in place of trees. Instead of being held by the forest to seep into the rivers, the *waters from spring rains and melting snows poured into the valleys in destructive floods*. Moisture dried quickly out of the unprotected ground and by midsummer the land was parched.

Not only did the lumbermen cut merchantable timber, but they broke down the young timber, and left great quantities of waste from lumber upon the ground. When dry, this waste became the starting point of terrific *fires* that destroyed more forests than did the ax and the saw.

Forest conservation. In 1905, Congress, acting upon the recommendation of President Roosevelt, created a Bureau of Forestry in the Department of Agriculture, and Gifford Pinchot, a far-seeing and public-spirited man, was appointed Chief Forester. The United States has set aside about two hundred million acres of land in *forest reserves*. In these reserves only the full-grown timber is cut, and the cutting is done under restrictions which prevent waste. Another ten million acres have been set aside by the states in similar reserves. But the forest area owned by individuals is at least four times as great as that owned by the public, and only a few private owners are really careful in the use of their property.

Forest fires. Forest fires in the United States produce a loss of about fifty million dollars a year.



U. S. Forest Service

FIG. 107. A fire in the Olympic National Forest, Washington, at night. Forest fire losses in the United States averaged more than 17 million dollars a year from 1916 to 1920 inclusive. There were 160,318 fires, and 56,488,307 acres were burned over.

They always start as small fires. Somebody throws a match into a pile of brush, or somebody leaves a campfire burning. The United States Forest Service has prepared excellent rules for the prevention of forest fires. These are posted in public places near the forest reserves.

On the summit of a mountain commanding a view of hundreds of miles of forest will be a *fire lookout* or "observatory." Members of the forest service

*U. S. Forest Service*

FIG. 108. An observer watching for fires from a lookout tower on Marties' Peak, California.

keep watch there day and night. Telephone wires run from the lookout to the stations of the forest rangers. As soon as a suspicious smoke is seen, the alarm is given and the rangers hurry to the location that the lookout has indicated. Volunteers are called upon to help fight the fires, equipment being supplied by the rangers. Recently the forestry service has instituted airplane patrols as a further means for the prompt discovery of fire.

Conservation of wild life. Much has been done by public-spirited individuals and by the government toward saving the native wild life of our country. Game sanctuaries, the greatest of which is Yellow-

stone National Park, have been the means of preserving to us native American animals that have been threatened with extinction. Laws protecting fish, bird life, and game should be strongly enforced.

Metals. The supply of some metals, like gold, silver, and platinum, is very limited, and they are so highly prized that the greatest care is always taken in mining them. But the more abundant and cheaper metals, which are much more necessary to human welfare than are the precious metals, are often mined in a wasteful manner. The temptation is to remove from the earth only the higher-yielding ores, leaving the rest in place, where it may never become available. Our government parted with most of its mineral lands for a mere trifle, retaining no control over them.

The base metals should not be wasted. When they cease to be useful in one form, they should be saved, melted down, and used again.

Coal. There is just so much coal to be taken from the ground, and the amount available can be estimated with reasonable accuracy. According to some authorities coal is being used at a rate that will exhaust the total supply of the United States in about 150 years. We who are living now will never be without coal, but future generations may have very little of it. In the last few years seventy-five million acres of supposed coal land have been set apart by the government, including most of the very valuable coal lands of Alaska. This coal now belongs to the public, and it probably will be mined under

government regulation, so that all the coal can be removed without waste.

The use of water power wherever available will help tremendously in the conservation of coal.

Oil. The increased use of crude petroleum as a fuel and of gasoline for driving automobiles is rapidly depleting our total stock of petroleum. At our present rate of consumption, the natural supply of the United States may be used up within the lifetime of some of us. Oil should never be wasted—no matter what the price. Only the most economical methods of getting it from the ground should be used. Already the naval powers are in competition for the control of oil fields everywhere. Sea power depends upon petroleum, for the most effective warships must have it as fuel.

Natural gas. Natural gas has been more wantonly wasted than any other of our natural resources. Up to a few years ago the waste was fully equal to the use. Natural gas is usually found in connection with oil wells, and oil operators have been grossly careless about what happened to the gas they incidentally opened up.

QUESTIONS

What is meant by conservation? What has been the policy of the United States with regard to public lands? What is meant by reclamation? What has been the effect of recklessly cutting off our forests? Who was Chief Forester under President Roosevelt? What has the United States done toward forest conservation? What is being done to prevent forest fires? to preserve our native wild life? Is there danger of exhausting our supplies of coal, oil, and metals? What has the United States done toward their conservation? What are some of the things that we, as individuals, can do to help in conservation?

Conservation of Natural Resources 263

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

Each of our principal natural resources will furnish good material for a conservation report. Reports may also be made on the public-land policy of the United States, the principal provisions of the Homestead Law, the Land Office, and the Reclamation Service. See BEARD, C. A., *American Government and Politics*; YOUNG, J. T., *The New American Government*; CRONAN, R., *Our Wasteful Nation*; PINCHOT, GIFFORD, *The Fight for Conservation*; FAIRBANKS, H. W., *Conservation Reader*; REED, T. H., *Form and Functions of American Government*, Chapter 33. The bulletin of the General Land Office on the Homestead Law and bulletins of the United States Reclamation Service can be had, upon request, of the Department of the Interior at Washington.

CIVIC ACTIVITIES

Let the class decide upon some conservation project that the members can carry out, such as the saving of metal or the cultivation of vacant lots or unused spaces in back yards, the proceeds to be used in buying or helping to buy some object to beautify the school-room. The class might, as a project to conserve civic beauty, undertake the removal of some unsightly object in the vicinity of the school; but permission should first be secured.

CHAPTER THIRTY-FOUR

DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNICATIONS

The need for easy transportation and communication. To get the greatest benefit out of our widely spread natural resources—to conserve them through right use—we need the best possible means of transportation. We need, too, the highest development in mail, telegraph, telephone, cable, and wireless service, in order to promote the free interchange of ideas. *The better our means of communication, the easier it is to make and keep the American people a social and political unit.* The Romans understood this principle and acted upon it when they followed up each new extension of their territory by building a good road.

Highways. The veins and arteries of the economic



American Museum of Nat. Hist.

FIG. 109. Progress in ocean transport. The "Mayflower" of 1621 compared with the "Leviathan" of 1921.

*U. S. Bureau of Public Roads*

FIG. 110. Building a concrete road between Reading and Allentown, Pennsylvania.

life of our country are its highways: roads, railroads, rivers, lakes, and canals, and now even its air lanes. It is comparatively cheap to move goods by rail, still cheaper to move them by water, and comparatively expensive to haul them on trucks or wagons. It may cost less to bring Hood River apples from a railroad station in Oregon to a railroad station in the Middle West than it does to haul them to one freight platform and away from the other. The cost of trucking depends very much on the character of the roads. Dirt roads are frequently either so muddy or so dusty as to make transportation difficult, and macadamized roads are soon torn to pieces by swift-moving automobiles. But over smooth concrete roads great ten-ton motor trucks roll with ease.



U. S. Bureau of Public Roads

FIG. 111. A section of the Lincoln Highway between Kingston and New Brunswick, New Jersey. Such a well-built concrete road is easily maintained, and it greatly reduces the cost of motor transportation.

One of the things that the people of our country most need to do is to establish a fine system of paved highways. But it is beyond the means of any except the more thickly settled localities to pay for paved highways, and a large part of the expense must be borne by the state and national governments. State aid for roads was begun by New Jersey (1891), quickly followed by Massachusetts (1892), California (1895), and New York (1898). Now every state is engaged in good-roads work. On conditions laid down in the Federal Aid Road Act, the United States will bear as much as fifty per cent of the cost of actual construction of roads within a state.

The fundamental principle of road building is



FIG. 112. The Appian Way was laid out straight and level in the fourth century, B. C. Parts of it, like the section shown here, have been in use ever since.

summed up in the old saying, "The best is the cheapest." The most famous road in history, the Appian Way, was paved by the Romans, and many portions of it are still in place. The Romans built their roads to endure. *It is the high cost of maintenance and repair on inferior roads that takes too much of the taxpayers' money.*

Natural waterways. Water transportation is much cheaper than any form of land transportation. For all low-priced, bulky, non-perishable articles it is to be preferred if available. The prosperity of our country has been largely due to the wonderful natural waterways that are available to it. The waters of the Atlantic Ocean, the Gulf of Mexico, the Pacific Ocean, and the Great Lakes are the most important of these.

River transportation on the great Mississippi system has declined in importance, but it has a great future. The works that will protect the adjoining lands from flood will deepen and straighten the channels of the streams.

The United States spends vast sums every year on the improvement of harbors and deepening and more plainly marking channels. Through the Coast and Geodetic Survey it *surveys and charts the coasts* for the benefit of mariners. The Lighthouse Service *maintains lighthouses, lightships, and buoys* to make navigation safer. The Bureau of Navigation and the Steamboat Inspection Service *enforce laws for the safety of vessels* (including the examination and licensing of pilots and officers of steamships). The Life Saving Station Service rescues the passengers and crews of *vessels in distress*.

Canals. Before the day of railroads, canals were built as a means for the cheap transport of freight and even passengers. The most famous of our early canals was the Erie, which ran from Buffalo to Albany and connected the Great Lakes with the Hudson River. A glance at the map will show what a large part of the United States it served. Canals within our country have lost much of their early importance. Nevertheless, the state of New York found it worth while to spend nearly \$150,000,000 in building a barge canal over much the same route as the Erie, the work being completed in 1918 (Fig. 113). A similar canal from Albany to the lower end of Lake Champlain was completed in 1916.



FIG. 113. A section of the New York Barge Canal. A giant car float, built in a shipyard on the Great Lakes, is being towed through the canal for use in New York harbor.

These canals will accommodate vessels drawing twelve feet of water.

There are several important ship canals connecting large bodies of water, such as the Sault Ste. Marie Canal, which unites Lakes Superior and Huron, and the Cape Cod Canal. The Panama Canal brings the east and west coasts of the United States close together for commerce and defense. Up to the present time it has cost the United States not far from \$500,000,000. It was completed under the direction of General Goethals of the United States Army.

Railroads. The railroads of this country were built by private capital, sometimes with government assistance. For a long time they did as they pleased with regard to their rates and the character of the service they gave. But they discovered that competition in rates and service was cutting off their profits, and they came to make agreements about rates. This left the shipper and the traveler at their mercy and led, in turn, to government regulation. Now *state railroad or public utility commissions* regulate railroad business within each state, and the *Interstate Commerce Commission* regulates interstate railroads.

War measures. When we entered the Great War, it immediately became apparent that the railroads of our country must be operated as a single system if we were to get the most out of them in moving troops and war materials. The government wanted its freight to go by the most direct routes irrespective of railroad ownership. After an attempt on the part of the railroads to get together, which failed partly because of legal restrictions on combinations of lines, *the President was authorized by Congress to take over all the railroads of the country.* This was done, and during the war period they were operated by a director-general, appointed by the President. The American telegraph lines and cables were also temporarily taken over by the government as a war measure. They were operated under the Post Office Department.

Transportation Act of 1920. By this act, which



FIG. 114. The terminal yards of the West Shore Railroad at Weehawken, New Jersey, just across the Hudson from New York. The river brings large ships immediately up to the yards.

was signed by the President on February 28, 1920, the railroads were returned to their owners two days later. The United States undertook to adjust losses occurring as a result of government management and to make up any failure in revenue during the six months following March 1, 1920. The act provides for the settlement by a *Labor Board* of disputes between employers and employees that cannot otherwise be settled without a strike. This board consists of nine members, three representing the organized workers, three the railroad management, and three the general public (the last appointed by the President of the United States). The Interstate Commerce Commission is given power to make plans for the *consolidation* of the railway lines of the

country into a limited number of systems, and to authorize consolidation if any railroads desire it, according to these plans. No one thinks that the question of the management of our railroads has been definitely settled by the Act of 1920, and various plans for the management of the railroads have been urged before Congress.

Air transportation. The possibilities of transportation by airplane and dirigible balloon are very great. Passenger air service is now conducted between different cities by private companies; and the United States government operates air-mail routes, one of them connecting New York and San Francisco. As air transportation develops, new problems of traffic regulation will arise.

Postal service. Our need for communication facilities is not fully met by the construction of railroads, highways, or canals or even by the establishment of stage, railway, steamship, and air lines. There must be methods for swiftly and safely forwarding letters or packages from one part of the country to another—often over several such lines—and for delivering them to the proper party at the end of the journey. This service is rendered by the *Post Office Department*, one of the most important branches of the Federal government. For two cents the Department will carry a letter from New York to Seattle and deliver it at the door of the person to whom it is addressed. For a very moderate charge packages (within certain limits of size and shape) will be carried anywhere in the country. The free delivery

of mail in rural districts, often many miles from a post office, is one of the most useful parts of the service. One must now live in a very remote spot indeed, not to have mail brought daily to his door. Through treaties with other countries our Post Office forwards mail to all parts of the world and receives it in return.

Express service. *Express companies* perform a service very similar to that of the Post Office in forwarding packages, though without limit as to size. But they do not deliver outside the limits of cities in which their offices are located. During the war the great express companies were consolidated in the American Railway Express, which was for a time operated by the government. Both the Post Office and the express companies will forward sums by money order or by registered or insured package.

Telephone and telegraph service. The telephone and telegraph have made the far corners of the world our near neighbors. So far, except for a brief period during the war, they have been under private management. In many other countries the telegraph and sometimes the telephone service is managed by the government, usually in connection with the postal service. Our telephone system especially is vastly superior in extent and in quality of service to any other in the world. In some sections of the country there are competing telephone companies, but this situation is not very satisfactory. The telephone and telegraph services are bound in the long run to be practical monopolies, and the same

principles apply to their regulation as to other public utilities (see Chapter 23).

QUESTIONS

Explain the importance of transportation. Why are well-paved highways so necessary? When and where did the system of state-aided highways begin? Why do portions of the Appian Way still exist? Should roads be owned by the public? Give your reasons. What does the United States do to make water transportation safe and convenient? What hope is there for a revival of river traffic? Why was the Erie Canal important? To what extent are canals still important in New York State? Name some of the important ship canals. Should canals be publicly or privately owned? Why? What bodies have been established to regulate such matters as railroad rates? For what reason? Why were the railroads taken over by the government during the Great War? What are the principal features of the Transportation Act of 1920? What are some of the services rendered by the Post Office Department? by express companies? What principles should govern regulation of telephone and telegraph companies?

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

The Esch-Cummins plan for the management of railroads (embodied in part in the Transportation Act); the highway system of your own state; the history of the Erie Canal, or of another canal that may be more closely related to your locality; the railroad commission of your own state; the Interstate Commerce Commission; the various bureaus and services of the national government that are mentioned in the text. The "Plumb plan" for the management of railroads might be made the subject of a report.

CIVIC ACTIVITIES

Appoint a committee to study and report on the highways of your locality, locating them on a map and describing their condition.

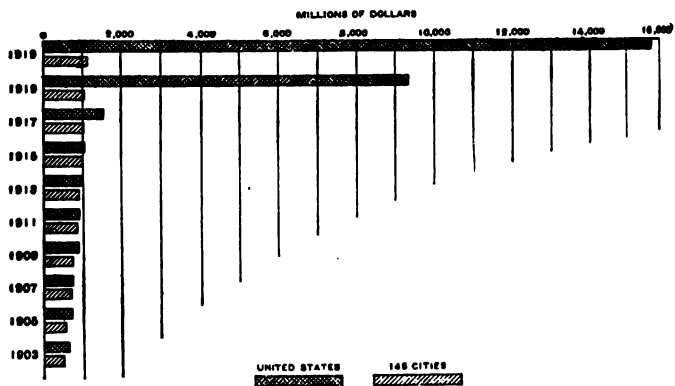
A debate: *Resolved*, That the railroads of the United States should be owned and operated by the national government.

CHAPTER THIRTY-FIVE

FOOTING THE BILLS

Government costs money. War materials, public buildings, and all the services of government cost money—much money. Our public servants, from President to street sweeper, have to be paid for their work. While the individual salaries are generally not large, all of them together make a vast sum. We cannot have armies, navies, post offices, police and fire departments, and schools without paying for them. *We must understand that when the city, county, state, or nation spends money, it spends the citizens' money.* Since income taxes have been imposed by the Federal and several of the state governments, many people have come to realize this as they never did before.

How government gets money. Governments get money principally in three ways: (1) By obliging people to make payments toward the support of government. The forms of these payments are many, but they are all called *taxes*; (2) by charging a small sum for such services as filing petitions at law and recording deeds, these charges being called *fees* (postage may be regarded as a fee); (3) by selling gas, water, electric current, or street-car rides, receipts from such sources being called *prices*. Through fees the individual pays at least part of the extra expense that government bears on his account. When he buys electric current or water from a city, he pays for it exactly as if he were dealing with a private corporation. Taxation is the method



U. S. Bureau of the Census

FIG. 115. The total payments for all government costs of 146 cities in the United States compared with those of the Federal government, during specified years.

by which we are all obliged to help pay for the general cost of government.

Who spends the most money. Just now it is the national government that spends most of the public money, but this is because we have so recently been at war. In ordinary times the state and local governments taken together spend much more money than does the national government. It is just as important to watch their expenditures as it is to watch those of the government at Washington.

Taxes on imports. The United States derives its revenue from duties on imports, and from internal revenue, inheritance, income, and other special taxes. Almost every article imported into the United States from foreign countries is taxed, usually highly taxed. Of course, the consumer really pays this

import tax, for the importer adds enough to his selling price to reimburse himself.

The list of import taxes is called a *tariff*. A tariff may be for *revenue only*, or it may be *protective*. The United States generally has a high protective tariff. The purpose of such a tariff is largely to exclude many foreign products. If it costs us more to produce cutlery or raisins or paper pulp than it costs foreigners to produce them, we place a high enough duty on these articles to make the foreign products more expensive than the American. In this way our producers are "protected." There are many people who on principle oppose the protective tariff. They say it is not fair to make everybody in this country pay more for many articles merely to benefit a small part of the people. Others argue that the prosperity of our farmers, miners, and manufacturers makes everybody else more prosperous, and that a high tariff makes possible the payment of high wages. It is argued, too, that a high tariff is necessary to preserve industries that may become essential to victory in war. The tariff question has always been an issue between the political parties of the country, and it is apparently as far from settlement as it was a century ago.

Internal revenue. Every package of tobacco or playing cards has a stamp on it which must be broken to open the package. That stamp was bought by the manufacturer from the United States and represents a tax. Stamps are now required on many legal papers, and taxes are collected from every one who

attends a theater or who buys an automobile or an expensive dress. These are merely examples of some of our sources of internal revenue.

Inheritance, income, and profits taxes. When any one dies leaving more than a few thousand dollars, any inheritance from his estate is subject to a Federal tax and often to a state tax. The rate of *the tax is higher as estates are larger*. The rate is also higher for distantly related heirs or strangers than it is for near relatives. Thus, a wife or a child pays a smaller tax than does a nephew.

Every unmarried person with an income of more than \$1000 a year, and every married person with an income of more than \$2500 a year, is required to pay a tax on any income above \$1000 or \$2500, as the case may be. (But an exemption of \$400 is allowed for certain dependent members of a family, other than wife.) This tax begins with 4 per cent for small incomes and increases to 65 per cent for an income of a million dollars or more. Such a tax is called a *progressive income tax*. Very heavy taxes were also imposed on the extra high *profits* that many corporations were able to make on account of war conditions. The national income tax was provided for by the Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

State and local taxation. A few states derive their income from *taxes on the gross receipts* of public utility corporations, banks, and insurance companies. Many of them get some revenue from *poll taxes* (payment of a few dollars by each voter or adult inhabitant) and income and inheritance taxes. The

great bulk of the revenue of city, state, and local governments comes from the *general property tax*. All property, real and personal, is *assessed* by the city, town, or county assessor to determine its value. Then the state, county, town, or city, having settled how much money it must raise, *levies* a tax that will produce this sum. The rate of the tax is fixed at so many "mills on the dollar"—so many tenths of a cent for each dollar of valuation. In practice, real property—lands and houses—is usually assessed at about 60 per cent of its value, and most personal property escapes local assessment altogether. In order to be fair, the assessment must be very carefully made by well-trained assessors. Unfortunately, it is too rarely made in that way.

How we all help to pay local taxes. We hear a good deal in local politics about the rights of the *taxpayer*. We have taxpayers' associations and taxpayers' candidates. In some states only taxpayers vote on proposals to borrow money, and some municipal reformers have suggested that only taxpayers should have the right to vote for mayor and councilmen. When we speak of "taxpayers" we usually mean property owners, and we assume that these really pay all the taxes. As a matter of fact, they do not. If a family lives in a rented house, part of the rent money goes to pay the landlord's taxes. The grocer's rent pays his landlord's taxes, and when the family buys groceries it pays a share of the grocer's rent. *The actual burden of taxation is borne by the whole community.* But most of us pay the larger

part of our share in a very indirect way, and *unfortunately we do not realize to what extent we are bearing taxation*. We are too much inclined, therefore, to be careless with regard to increased public expenditures.

Budgets. *A budget is a plan for spending income.* It is a very good thing for young people who earn money regularly or who have allowances, to make budgets for themselves: so much for saving, so much for books or clothes, and so much for amusements. A budget is a very great aid to family and individual thrift.

If the budget is a good thing for the individual, it is almost indispensable for the city, county, state, and nation. In no other way can these avoid spending more than they have or being left with idle money in the treasury. A good budget is the first step toward governmental economy. Many cities and a few states have excellent budget systems. But, strangely, the United States government with its enormous expenditures did not adopt a budget system until 1921.

Increase in government expenditures. Entirely apart from the war and its effects, governmental expenditures have been steadily increasing. We demand, for example, more and better roads, public institutions, and parks than we did ten years ago. Many people regard increased expenditures with alarm. There would be no reason for this if the additional money were spent wisely. Governments do not exist to save money, but to expend it in such a way as to secure the greatest possible benefit to

all of the people. If the object is good and the people get full value for each dollar spent, that is enough.



Edwin Marcus in New York Times

FIG. 116. "Stop the Leaks!" There are always politicians and others whose schemes lead to government extravagance. Our citizens must be on the alert to prevent any waste of government funds.

The kind of increase in expenditure that we need to fear arises from waste and poor judgment. *We should require of our governments as careful and efficient administration as is required in private business* (Fig. 116).

Public debts. Governments cannot always meet their expenditures out of current income, yet it is not thought wise to have them hoard money to

meet extraordinary expenses. Therefore, in emergencies they must borrow money. The United States had to float five huge loans, that it might do its part in the Great War. Highways, bridges, public buildings, waterworks, and sewers are paid for through loans. Public loans that are to run for a period of years are effected through *the sale of bonds*—printed and signed instruments bearing promises to pay principal and installments of interest at fixed dates. In the case of a state or a local government a proposition for borrowing money must usually be submitted to and approved by the people at an election.

The following table from Financial Statistics of Cities, 1919, published by the Bureau of the Census, shows the indebtedness of 146 cities in the United States and the indebtedness of the Federal government during specified years. The very great increase in the national debt shown for 1918 and 1919 was due to the war.

YEAR	146 CITIES		UNITED STATES	
	Total	Per capita	Total	Per capita
1919.....	\$2,541,172,360	\$81.18	\$24,479,302,376	\$234.77
1918.....	2,508,095,418	80.96	10,924,281,355	104.59
1917.....	2,445,851,564	80.75	1,908,635,224	18.56
1915.....	2,245,906,412	77.86	1,090,148,006	10.95
1913.....	1,950,006,813	69.28	1,028,564,055	10.59
1911.....	1,808,828,392	67.52	1,015,784,338	10.83
1909.....	1,537,099,399	61.21	1,023,861,531	11.31
1907.....	1,294,878,759	56.04	878,596,755	10.06
1905.....	1,119,345,755	50.94	989,866,772	11.77
1903.....	933,004,632	44.71	925,011,637	11.44

QUESTIONS

Why does government cost money? What does it spend its money for? What is meant by "taxes"? "fees"? "prices"? How does the Federal government compare with state and local governments in the amount of its expenditures? Why should we watch local expenditures? From what sources does the United States get its revenue? Explain taxes on imports. What is meant by the term "protective tariff"? Give some of the arguments for and against it. Explain what is meant by "internal revenue." Tell what you can of the Federal income tax. What is meant by "inheritance tax"? What is meant by "general-property tax"? How are local taxes raised? Explain how we all help to pay taxes. Tell some of the advantages of a budget. Do you think that the United States should have a budget? Why? Are government expenditures increasing? Should we regard this with alarm? Why?

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

The expenditure of money by your own state and local community. What, for example, are the ten largest items of expense in your city? The local budget and the local tax system. The published reports of the state controller or auditor and the reports of your local government will give the necessary information. If your local government does not publish reports, the information can be obtained by visiting the offices. See BEARD, C. A., *American Government and Politics* and *American City Government*; MUNRO, W. B., *Government of the United States* and *Government of American Cities*; PLEHN, C. C., *Introduction to Public Finance* and *Government Finance in the United States*; *Encyclopedia of American Government* (see titles "Tax," "Tariff," etc.); Bureau of the Census, *Financial Statistics of Cities* (published yearly).

On the budget see WILSON, WOODROW, *Congressional Government*, and BRYCE, JAMES, *The American Commonwealth*. The whole subject of this chapter is covered in REED, T. H., *Form and Functions of American Government*, Chapters 40 and 41.

CIVIC ACTIVITIES

Let the class debate the proposition: *Resolved*, That the United States should maintain a high protective tariff.

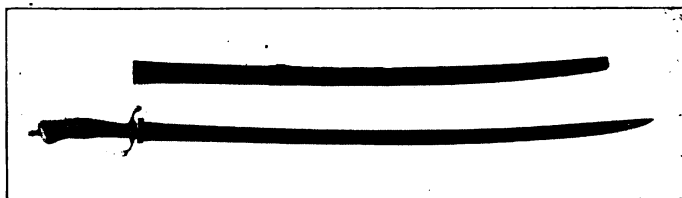
CHAPTER THIRTY-SIX

OUR PLACE IN THE WORLD

The United States and Europe. At the close of the American Revolution there was but a thin fringe of population along the Atlantic seaboard. There was then grave danger that the nations of Europe would involve the new American republic in one of their frequent quarrels, and perhaps destroy its independence. It was for this reason that Washington solemnly urged the American people to avoid *entangling alliances* with European countries. He felt that if we kept strictly to ourselves and had as little as possible to do with European affairs we might the better work out our own salvation (Fig. 117).

But in spite of our best efforts we were drawn into the struggle between Great Britain and France. Both nations violated the rights of our people on the sea, and finally, in 1812, we went to war with Great Britain. We did not do this because we were interested in European affairs, but simply to protect our own rights. After the War of 1812 we continued to have a purely American policy. It was not until the conflict of 1914-1918 that we had a share of any magnitude in the settlement of European questions. The Great War was not merely a European war, it was a *world war*, and the United States as one of the leading nations could not escape playing a part in it.

The Monroe Doctrine. Early in the nineteenth century the Spanish colonies in North and South America, except Cuba, revolted. They established themselves as independent republics and were rec-



U. S. Department of State

FIG. 117. The sword of George Washington. In disposing of two of his swords by will, Washington provided that they should not be unsheathed for the purpose of shedding blood except in self-defense or in defense of our country and its rights.

ognized as such by the United States. At that time the sovereigns of continental Europe were united in what was known as the *Holy Alliance*. One purpose of this Alliance was to put down all democratic uprisings, and our people feared that it was about to assist the king of Spain in subduing his former American colonies. At the same time there was a dispute between Russia, Great Britain, and the United States over territorial claims in the Pacific northwest.

In view of these circumstances President Monroe in his message to Congress in December, 1823, made two declarations: First, "that the American continents by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for colonization by any European powers;" and second, "With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration and on just principles

acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition to the United States."

These principles, known as the *Monroe Doctrine*, have been extended from time to time until *the Doctrine has come to mean that the United States will not allow any European or Asiatic power to attack or control any of the independent countries of North or South America, or to acquire additional territory on either continent*. It is clearly understood by other nations that the United States would go to war to defend the Monroe Doctrine. Foreign nations have frequently expressed their disapproval of it, but they have respected our attitude. In several instances they have been compelled to do so, as in the '60's when an attempt was made to establish a kind of European empire in Mexico.

The existence of the Monroe Doctrine has made it necessary for the United States to accept *responsibility for the good conduct of the Latin-American states*. Since we will not allow them to be attacked, a European state that has a quarrel with one of the weaker American republics looks to the United States to secure settlement. The doctrine is very dear to the American people. One of the reasons why the United States entered the Great War lay in the fact that if the Central Powers were victorious the Monroe Doctrine might have been supported only with extreme difficulty. One of the matters most fre-



FIG. 118. This statue was the gift of the republic of Venezuela to the city of New York, in token of good will toward the United States. It represents Simon Bolivar, the South American Liberator.

quently discussed in connection with the League of Nations was its probable effect on the Monroe Doctrine.

Foreign relations. *Our relations with foreign countries are handled by the President through the Secretary of State.* In the State Department there are numerous bureaus or offices devoted to the diplomatic service. At each of the principal capitals of the world we

keep a *diplomatic representative* known as an *ambassador*; at less important capitals, a *minister*. At Washington are similar representatives from all the principal countries of the world. The *embassy*, as the official residence of an ambassador is called, is regarded as part of his home country. Ambassadors and ministers are not subject to the laws of the country to which they are sent, and they cannot, according to established custom, be arrested or punished in any way by it. If a country is dissatisfied with the conduct of the ambassador of another country, it asks for his recall. This was what the United States did in the case of Dr. Dumba, the last ambassador of Austria-Hungary, who was found to have been plotting against the peace of the United States.

For the purpose of looking after the *business interests* of our people abroad, an American *consul* is stationed in every important city of the world. Consuls are appointed by the President, but candidates must first show that they are fit for appointment by passing an examination. They supply this country with information concerning commercial conditions in the countries in which they are located, and they assist American sailors and travelers, often sending home those who have met with difficulties abroad.

International law. During the course of many centuries, nations, like individuals, have developed rules for the guidance of their conduct toward each other. These rules are known as *international law*. They are founded upon reason and old custom and upon agreements between nations or groups of nations.

The rules relating to the conduct of war have been agreed upon in a number of international gatherings. The Declaration of Paris in 1856 laid down rules for the conduct of war at sea. Since 1899 a number of international conventions have been held at The Hague, their purpose being to promote peace and to lessen the horrors of war. The status of the Red Cross has been fixed by international law.

International law differs from the law that prevails within a country (domestic law) chiefly because there has been little or *no organized provision for its enforcement*. Nations have had to fight to assert their rights. But since the days of the prophet Isaiah, men have longed for a time when wars shall cease.

The League of Nations. The peace conference



FIG. 119. The first session of the League of Nations at Geneva, Switzerland.

that met after the Great War included in the Treaty of Versailles the Covenant of a League of Nations. By the provisions of Article Twelve the nations accepting it agreed that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture they would submit the matter either to *arbitration or to inquiry* by the *Council* of the League of Nations. The much discussed Article Ten reads as follows: "The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League." There are provisions for the limitation of armaments, and for the guidance and control of weak or backward peoples ("mandatories"). There is also an arrangement designed to do away with secret treaties, which have been the cause of much mischief in the past.

The machinery created for the management of the League consists of an Assembly, a Council, a Secretariat, and an International Court. The *Assembly* consists of *representatives of the members*, each member having one vote. The British self-governing colonies (Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand) and India are included as members. The *Council* consists of the *representatives of the principal powers* concerned and of four members elected by the Assembly. The *Secretariat* consists of a Secretary-General and such a staff as may be necessary. The offices of the Secretariat are located at Geneva in Switzerland. The *International Court* is a permanent body to which suits may be submitted. One

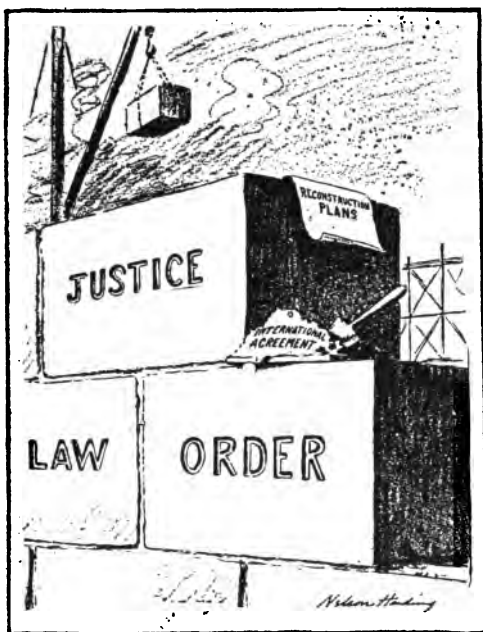


FIG. 120. "The Foundations of Peace," a newspaper cartoon by Nelson Harding.

American, Mr. John Bassett Moore, was elected a judge of this court.

The Assembly of the League of Nations is not expected to meet frequently, and greater power is vested in the Council. *In case of violation of the covenant, it is the Council that directs the measures to be taken.* Except in a few cases, action by the Assembly or by the Council must be unanimous. Neither party to a dispute may sit in the Council or Assembly when its dispute is under discussion.

Though Woodrow Wilson, who was President at the time of the treaty making, was one of the chief promoters of the League of Nations, the United States has refused to accept it.

National defense. So long as there is uncertainty as to the success of any efforts to prevent war, it will be wise for our country to be prepared to defend itself. This is especially true because there are delicate questions between the United States and other powers, which may at any time develop seriously. We know something of the frightful cost of war in lives and money, but costly as even victory is, it is by no means as costly as defeat.

Patriotism in peace. Awful as war is, it has some good results. It arouses a spirit of patriotism and self-sacrifice in the people. When our nation is at war, men and women are ready to give up everything for their country. No sacrifice is too hard. They give their money, they submit to regulation in a hundred ways, and they send their sons to battle. If we maintain as high a spirit of coöperation and sacrifice in peace as in war, there is no limit to the future prosperity of our country and to its influence for the good of all mankind.

QUESTIONS

Why did Washington advise against entangling alliances? How were we drawn into the War of 1812? How did the Monroe Doctrine originate? What does it mean to America? Had it anything to do with our going to war with Germany? What department of the national government handles our relations with foreign countries? What are ambassadors and ministers? Describe the duties of consuls. How are treaties made? What is international law? How has it

generally had to be enforced? Describe how the League of Nations is organized. What do the members of the League agree to do if a dispute arises? What do they promise with regard to territorial integrity and independence of members? How are peoples incapable of entire self-government to be taken care of? Should we be prepared to defend ourselves? How far should we go in preparedness for war? What elements of the war-time spirit should we preserve in times of peace?

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

The Monroe Doctrine. The army. The navy. The League of Nations.

Material on the Monroe Doctrine can be found in any of the standard histories of the United States. The army and navy are in such a state of change since the war that we must depend for information concerning them upon periodicals, government reports, and publications like the American Year Book. Periodicals should be consulted on existing foreign relations. A vast amount of material on the League of Nations is easily obtainable.

CIVIC ACTIVITIES

Introduce either or both of the following resolutions in the legislatively organized class, and allow them to be discussed.

Resolved, That the United States should maintain a navy as large as that of any other country.

Resolved, That the League of Nations has proved itself a success.



American Numismatic Society



APPENDIXES



APPENDIX ONE

REFERENCE LIST

General Works on American Government

- BEARD, C. A. *American Government and Politics*.
BRYCE, JAMES. *The American Commonwealth*.
YOUNG, J. T. *The New American Government*.
MUNRO, W. B. *The Government of the United States*.
KIMBALL, EVERETT. *The National Government of the United States*.

High School Textbooks

- REED, T. H. *Form and Functions of American Government*.
ASHLEY, *The New Civics*.
MAGRUDER, *American Government*.
GUITTEAU, *Government and Politics in the United States*.

General Works on Political Science

- GARNER, J. W. *Introduction to Political Science*.
LEACOCK, S. J. *Elements of Political Science*.
GETTELL, R. G. *Introduction to Political Science*.

Works on Comparative Government

- WILSON, WOODROW. *The State*.
Government Handbook Series, edited by DAVID P. BARROWS and
THOMAS H. REED:
BROOKS, R. C. *Government and Politics of Switzerland*.
PORRITT, E. *Evolution of the Dominion of Canada*.
KRÜGER, F. K. *Government and Politics of the German Empire*.
SAIT, E. M. *Government and Politics of France*.

The Executive Departments

- HASKIN, F. J. *The American Government*.

Municipal Government

- BEARD, C. A. *American City Government*.
MUNRO, W. B. *Government of American Cities*.
——— *Principles and Methods of Municipal Administration*.
COOK, M. L. *Our Cities Awake*.
ZUEBLIN, C. *American Municipal Progress*.
HOWE, F. C. *The Modern City and Its Problems*.
ADDAMS, JANE. *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets*.

RIIS, JACOB. *How the Other Half Lives.*

MABIE, H. W. *City Manager Plan* (Debaters' Handbook Series).

Short Ballot Organization. *City Manager Plan.*

Rural Local Government

GILBERTSON, W. S. *County Government.*

Elections, Parties, Etc.

RAY, P. O. *Introduction to Political Parties and Practical Politics.*

MERRIAM, C. E. *Primary Elections.*

JOHNSTON, ALEXANDER. *American Politics.*

CHILDS, R. S. *Short Ballot Principles.*

Economics—General Works

ELY AND WICKER. *Elementary Principles of Economics.*

TAUSSIG, F. W. *Principles of Economics.*

Finance and Taxation

PLEHN, C. C. *Introduction to Public Finance.*

Economic History

BOGART, E. L. *Economic History of the United States.*

Labor Laws

COMMONS AND ANDREWS. *Principles of Labor Legislation.*

Periodicals

The most necessary of periodicals is a good review of current news like the *Literary Digest*, *Current Opinion*, or *Review of Reviews* or *Current History* (which is particularly strong on world politics). On the social subjects of the course the *Survey* will be found most useful. On city government the *American City* will prove interesting. It is profusely illustrated. Of the general reviews, *World's Work* and the *North American Review* contain the largest proportion of articles of civic interest. The literary periodicals only occasionally have articles which will be available for class use. Many of the most readable articles on public questions appear in the *Saturday Evening Post*. For the use of teachers in keeping abreast of the subject the following are recommended: *American Political Science Review*, *Political Science Review*, *Political Science Quarterly*, *National Municipal Review*, and *Annals of the Academy of Political and Social Science*.

APPENDIX TWO

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

PREAMBLE

We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I

LEGISLATIVE POWERS VESTED IN CONGRESS

SECTION 1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

COMPOSITION OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEC. 2. 1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

Qualification of Representatives.

2. No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Apportionment of Representatives and direct taxes—Census.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

[This clause has been superseded, so far as it relates to representation, by Section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution.]

Filling of vacancies in representation.

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

Selection of officers—Power of impeachment.

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

OF THE SENATE

Number of senators.

SEC. 3. 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years, and each Senator shall have one vote.

[See Seventeenth Amendment.]

Classification of senators—Filling of vacancies.

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen, by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

Qualifications of senators.

3. No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of the State for which he shall be chosen.

Vice-President to be president of senate.

4. The Vice-President of the United States shall be president of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

Selection of officers—President pro tempore.

5. The Senate shall choose their officers, and also a President *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

Senate to try impeachments.

6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment.

7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States: but the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment according to law.

ELECTION OF SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES—MEETINGS OF
CONGRESS

Control of congressional elections.

SEC. 4. 1. The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

Time for assembling of Congress.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

POWERS AND DUTIES OF EACH HOUSE OF CONGRESS

Sole judge of qualifications of members—Regulations as to quorum.

SEC. 5. 1. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as each house may provide.

Each house to determine its own rules.

2. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

Journals and yeas and nays.

3. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Adjournment.

4. Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

COMPENSATION, PRIVILEGES, AND DISABILITIES OF SENATORS
AND REPRESENTATIVES

Compensation—Privileges.

SEC. 6. 1. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

Disability to hold other offices.

2. No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

[See also Section 3 of the Fourteenth Amendment.]

MODE OF PASSING LAWS

Revenue bills to originate in house.

SEC. 7. 1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

Laws, how enacted—Veto power of President.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their

journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment, prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Concurrent orders, resolutions, etc., to be passed on by President.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or, being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

POWERS GRANTED TO CONGRESS

Taxation.

SEC. 8. 1. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

Borrowing of money.

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

Regulation of commerce.

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

Naturalization and bankruptcy.

4. To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

Money, weights, and measures.

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coins, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

Counterfeiting.

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

Post offices.

7. To establish post offices and post roads;

Patents and copyrights.

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

Inferior courts.

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

Piracies, felonies, etc.

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations;

War, marque and reprisal.

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

Army.

12. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

Navy.

13. To provide and maintain a navy;

Land and naval forces.

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

Calling out militia.

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions;

Organizing, arming, and disciplining militia.

16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

Exclusive legislation over District of Columbia, etc.

17. To exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings;—And

To enact laws necessary to enforce Constitution, etc.

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

[For other powers, see Article II, Section 1; Article III, Sections 2 and 3; Article IV, Sections 1–3; and Article V.]

LIMITATIONS ON POWERS GRANTED TO THE UNITED STATES

Slave trade.

SEC. 9. 1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

Writ of habeas corpus not to be suspended—Exception.

2. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

Ex post facto laws and bills of attainder prohibited.

3. No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

Direct taxes.

4. No capitation, or other direct, tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

Exports not to be taxed.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

No preference to be given to ports of any State—Interstate shipping.

6. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another: nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

Money, how drawn from treasury—Financial statements to be published.

7. No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

Titles of nobility not to be granted—Acceptance by government officers of favors from foreign powers.

8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

POWERS PROHIBITED TO THE STATES

Limitations of powers of the several States.

SEC. 10. 1. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

State imports and duties.

2. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws: and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

Further restrictions on powers of States.

3. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

Executive power vested in President—Term of office.

SECTION 1. 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President chosen for the same term, be elected, as follows:

Appointment and number of presidential electors.

2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of Electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

Mode of electing President and Vice-President.

3. The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said house shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the vote shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; A quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the Electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.

[This clause has been superseded by the Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution.]

Time of choosing electors and casting electoral vote.

4. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the Electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

Qualifications for the office of President.

5. No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

[See also Article II, Section 1, and Fourteenth Amendment.]

Filling vacancy in office of President.

6. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

NOTE.—Agreeably with the powers conferred by Clause 6, Section 1, Article II, of the Constitution, at its first session the Forty-ninth Congress in 1886 provided for the succession to the presidency in case of the removal, death, resignation, or inability of the President and Vice-President by directing that the office devolve first upon the Secretary of State, and in case of his inability, for any reason, to perform its duties, it should pass, successively, upon similar conditions, to the Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of War, Attorney-general, Postmaster-general, Secretary of the Navy, and Secretary of the Interior. If, however, any one of these officers should be of foreign birth, or otherwise disqualified, the presidency passes to the next named in the list.

Compensation of the President.

7. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services, a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Oath to be taken by the President.

8. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

POWERS OF PRESIDENT

Commander-in-chief—May grant reprieves and pardons.

SEC. 2. 1. The President shall be Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

President may, with concurrence of the senate, make treaties, appoint ambassadors, etc.—Appointment of inferior officers, authority of Congress over.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, Judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: but the Congress may by law, vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

President may fill vacancies in office, during recess of senate.

3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

FURTHER POWERS OF PRESIDENT

President to give advice to Congress—May convene or adjourn it on certain occasions—To receive ambassadors, etc.

SEC. 3. He shall, from time to time, give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their con-

sideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

[See also Article I, Section 5.]

All civil officers removable by impeachment.

SEC. 4. The President, Vice-President and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

[See also Article I, Section 5.]

ARTICLE III

JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT

Judicial power, how vested—Terms of office and salary of judges.

SECTION 1. The judicial power of the United States, shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services, a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

[See also Eleventh Amendment.]

JURISDICTION OF UNITED STATES COURTS

Cases that may come before United States courts.

SEC. 2. 1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority;—to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls;—to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction;—to controversies to which the United States shall be a party;—to controversies between two or more States;—between a State and citizens of another State;—between citizens of different States;—between citizens of the same State claiming lands under

grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens or subjects.

Original and appellate jurisdiction of Supreme Court.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

[See also Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Amendments.]

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

[See also Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Amendments.]

TREASON

Treason defined.

SEC. 3. 1. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort.

Conviction.

2. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

Punishment for treason.

3. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV

THE STATES AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Each State to give full faith and credit to the public acts and records of other States.

SECTION 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner

in which such acts, records and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

[See also Fourteenth Amendment.]

Interstate privileges of citizens.

SEC. 2. 1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

Extradition between the several States.

2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

Persons held to labor or service in one State, fleeing to another, to be returned.

3. No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

Admission of new States.

SEC. 3. 1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

Control of the property and territory of the Union.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Republican government guaranteed.

SEC. 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature can not be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V

AMENDMENTS

Amendments, how proposed and adopted.

SECTION 1. The Congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; *Provided* that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI

PROMISCUOUS PROVISIONS

Debts contracted under the Confederation secured.

SECTION 1. 1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

[See also Fourteenth Amendment, Section 4.]

Constitution, laws, and treaties of the United States to be supreme.

2. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

Who shall take constitutional oath—No religious test as to official qualification.

3. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII

RATIFICATION OF CONSTITUTION

SECTION 1. The ratification of the conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

DONE in convention by the unanimous consent of the States present the seventeenth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names,

GO: WASHINGTON—*Presid't.*
and *Deputy from Virginia.*

Attest WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

NEW HAMPSHIRE

JOHN LANGDON,
NICHOLAS GILMAN.

MASSACHUSETTS

NATHANIEL GORHAM,
RUFUS KING.

CONNECTICUT

WM. SAML. JOHNSON,
ROGER SHERMAN.

NEW YORK

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

NEW JERSEY

WIL: LIVINGSTON,
DAVID BREARLY,
WM: PATTERSON,
JONA: DAYTON.

PENNSYLVANIA

B. FRANKLIN,
THOMAS MIFFLIN,
ROBT. MORRIS,
GEO. CLYMER,
THOS. FITZSIMONS,
JARED INGERSOLL,
JAMES WILSON,
GOUV. MORRIS.

DELAWARE

GEO: READ,
GUNNING BEDFORD, JUN.,
JOHN DICKINSON,
RICHARD BASSETT,
JACO: BROOM.

MARYLAND

JAMES MCHENRY,
DAN OF ST THOS. JENIFER,
DANL. CARROLL.

VIRGINIA

JOHN BLAIR—
JAMES MADISON JR.

NORTH CAROLINA

WM. BLOUNT
RICHD. DOBBS SPAIGHT.
HU WILLIAMSON

SOUTH CAROLINA

J. RUTLEDGE
CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY,
CHARLES PINCKNEY,
PIERCE BUTLER.

GEORGIA

WILLIAM FEW
ABR BALDWIN.

AMENDMENTS

ARTICLE I

FREEDOM OF RELIGION, OF SPEECH, OF THE PRESS, AND RIGHT OF PETITION

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances. [*Proposed September 25, 1789; in effect December 15, 1791.*]

ARTICLE II

RIGHT OF PEOPLE TO BEAR ARMS NOT TO BE INFRINGED

A well-regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed. [*Id.*]

ARTICLE III

QUARTERING OF TROOPS

No soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law. [*Id.*]

ARTICLE IV

PERSONS AND HOUSES TO BE SECURE FROM UNREASONABLE SEARCHES AND SEIZURES

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized. [*Id.*]

ARTICLE V

TRIALS FOR CRIMES—JUST COMPENSATION FOR PRIVATE PROPERTY TAKEN FOR PUBLIC USE

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation. [*Id.*]

ARTICLE VI

CIVIL RIGHTS IN TRIALS FOR CRIMES ENUMERATED

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense. [*Id.*]

ARTICLE VII

CIVIL RIGHTS IN CIVIL SUITS

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise reexamined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law. [*Id.*]

ARTICLE VIII

EXCESSIVE BAIL, FINES, AND PUNISHMENTS PROHIBITED

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted. [*Id.*]

ARTICLE IX

RESERVED RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people. [*Id.*]

ARTICLE X

POWERS NOT DELEGATED, RESERVED TO STATES AND PEOPLE
RESPECTIVELY

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people. [*Id.*]

ARTICLE XI

JUDICIAL POWER OF UNITED STATES NOT TO EXTEND TO SUITS
AGAINST A STATE

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted

against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State. [*Proposed September 5, 1794; in effect January 8, 1798.*]

ARTICLE XII

ELECTION OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT

The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed, to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;—The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the State, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.—The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States. [*Proposed December 12, 1803; in effect September 25, 1804.*]

ARTICLE XIII

SLAVERY PROHIBITED

SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SEC. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation. [*Proposed February 1, 1865; in effect December 18, 1865.*]

ARTICLE XIV

CITIZENSHIP DEFINED—PRIVILEGES OF CITIZENS

Citizenship.

SECTION 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Apportionment of Representatives.

SEC. 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States, according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of Electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Disqualification for office—Removal of disability.

SEC. 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or Elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legis-

lature, or as an executive officer or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two thirds of each house, remove such disability.

Public debt not to be questioned—Payment of debts and claims incurred in aid of rebellion forbidden.

SEC. 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Power of Congress.

SEC. 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article. [*Proposed June 16, 1866; in effect July 28, 1868.*]

ARTICLE XV

ELECTIVE FRANCHISE

Right of certain citizens to vote, established.

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude—

Power of Congress.

SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation. [*Proposed February 27, 1869; in effect March 30, 1870.*]

ARTICLE XVI

INCOME TAXES AUTHORIZED

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

ARTICLE XVII

UNITED STATES SENATORS TO BE ELECTED BY DIRECT POPULAR
VOTE

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The Electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislatures.

Vacancies in Senatorships; when governor may fill by appointment.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: *Provided*, That the Legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the Legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

ARTICLE XVIII

TRAFFIC IN LIQUOR FOR BEVERAGE PURPOSES PROHIBITED

1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

ARTICLE XIX

SUFFRAGE EXTENDED TO WOMEN

1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

2. Congress shall have power to enforce this Article by appropriate legislation.

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YC131951



